AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY

DEVRİMCİ SOL

REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

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Imperialism is the Main Destructive Source Blocking the Future of Our Peoples and the World

OUR BATTLECRIES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND THE OLIGARCHY WILL NEVER BE EXCHANGED FOR SLOGANS OF COMPROMISE

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THREE NEW BOOKS
Presented by the DHKC Information Bureaus:

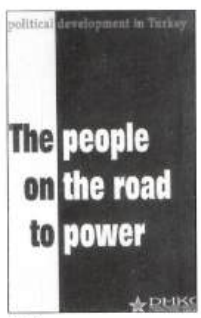
We are right We will win

In the years following the September 12, 1980 military coup in Turkey, large numbers of revolutionaries and leftists were arrested and put on trial as a part of the state crackdown. The trials sometimes involved hundreds of defendants. One of these mass trials was the Devrimci Sol Main Trial, which went on for much of the 1980s. The defendants belonged one of the principal revolutionary organisations in the country. In the course of the trial, the defendants became the accusers of the system, through their defiant behaviour in court and through their speeches and declarations, such as those of the organisation's leader Dursun Karatas are presented here in "We Are Right, We will Win". This is more than a record of courtroom proceedings; it is a chart of Turkey's road to revolution and an important historical document for socialists and Marxists the world over.

£ 3

The people on the road to power

Susurluk was the final straw that broke the camel's back. On November 3, 1996 a Mercedes collided with a lorry near Susurluk, and the real situation of Turkey was exposed as never before. Since then, not a day has passed without new facts coming to light about the intertwining of organised crime, the state and contra-guerrillas into one unitary mafia-contra-guerrilla state. On the initiative of the Party-Front, the people are beginning to organise in their own structures, the People's Councils. The objective: establishing revolutionary people's power.
This book contains various texts shedding light on the origin and work of the People's Councils. Further texts offer background as well as the perspective with which the People's Councils were set up.



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LEGEND AFTER LEGEND
An epic of revolutionary truggle

This booklet tells the story of the revolutionaries in Turkey who fought for the independence and freedom of their land and fell as martyrs. They do not need to be commemorated. They live in every part, in every moment of the struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan.
This modes booklet seeks to acquaint its readers with these martyrs and the struggle of which they are a part.

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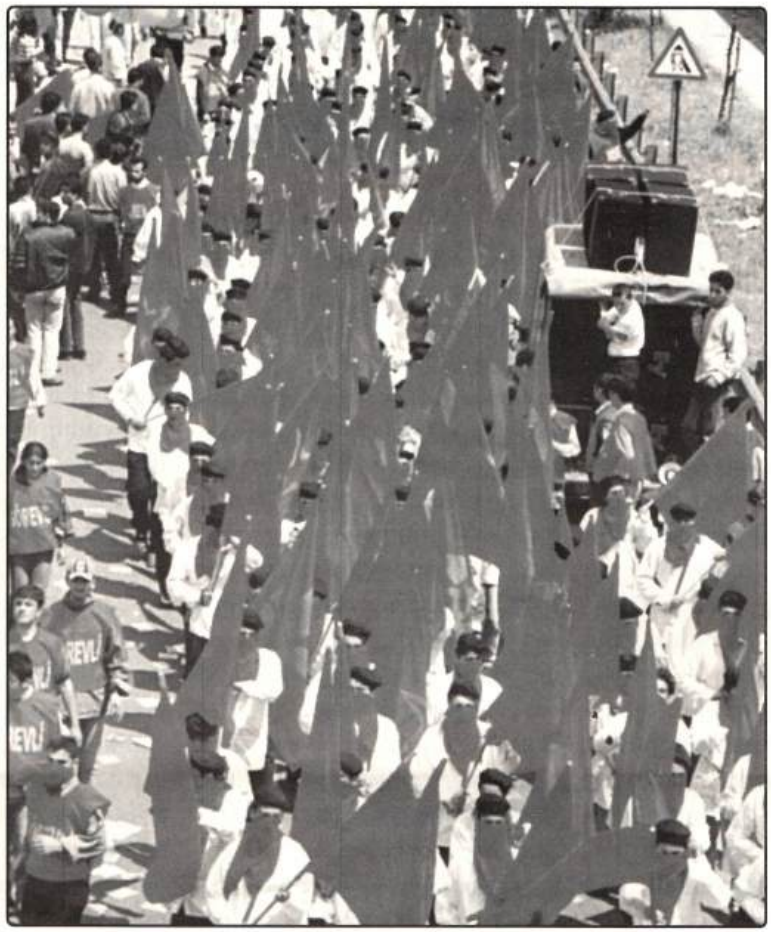

Merhaba,

Since our last issue there have been several developments in the ongoing political struggle, both in Turkey and Kurdistan, and internationally.

The policy of disappearence of the contra-guerrilla state in Turkey is continuing. In addition to the "1000 operations" mentioned by the former Minster of Internal Affairs M. Agar there is now one more: since March 31, 1998 for people have been disappeared. Neslihan Uslu, Hasan Aydogan, Metin Andas and Mehmet Ali Mandal were revolutionaries of the Party-Front.

This spring, a conference of revolutionary and anti-imperialist parties and organisations took place, sponsored by the DHKP-C. Many of the organisations are by the definition of imperialism, "terrorist". The armed struggle and the best ways to fight the new world order were debated at the conference, which was a successful first step in uniting revolutionaries and permitting them to learn from each other. A special isue of Devrimci Sol will be devoted to this conference.

The Protocol with the PKK concluded over a year ago has not achieved concrete results. Only the enemies of the peoples of Turkey and Kurdistan can derive satisfaction from this. For our analysis of what was not done, read this issue. Imperialism, and especially US imperialism, threatened to renew its aggression against Iraq.

The immediate crisis has passed, but the people of Iraq remain under threat - something our organisation cannot ignore. This issue of Devrimci Sol contains two extracts from the speech made by the General Secretary of the DHKP, Dursun Karatas, at the DHKP's founding Congress on March 30, 1994. One extract deals with the imperialist aggression against Iraq, which retains its topicality today. The other extract covers the counterrevolutions in the world and our organisation's pride in defending socialism when so many betrayed it.

Recently, three new books in English have been published by us. "We Are Right, We Will Win" contains selections from the speeches made at the Devrimci Sol Main Trial after the 1980 military coup in Turkey.

"Political Development in Turkey - The People on the Road to Power" is concerned with the struggle of People's Councils to give representation to the people in Turkey, starting with gecekondu (shantytown) inhabitants.

And "Legend After Legend" describes how various members of our movement died fighting and refused to surrender, and how this has become a tradition.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATIONS

"Revolution and Power in the Neo-Colonies"

We would like to present you with the conference "Revolution and Power in the Neo-Colonies" in spring 1998. The concept was to exchange ideas and search for possibilities to co-operate.

As the representatives of peoples who fight against imperialism and its collaborationist oligarchies, our aim is to develop concrete basis for the revolutionary co-operation and comradeship.

We live in a world where two thirds of the entire population live in poverty, inhuman conditions and without freedom. The war between imperialism and the oppressed people did not come to an end. The last 50 years have been defined by this war. And today, the same war continues to determine the future of the world. The form of the world in coming years depends on what extent we shall make imperialism retreat and how many more victories and fronts we gain in the people's fight for freedom. We believe that the main role belongs to us - people's liberation movements and revolutionary parties/organizations - how we think, how we fight and which targets we concentrate on. Our crucial point in common is these common responsibilities we bear on our shoulders. Threats and attacks of imperialism, mainly the USA, continue in every corner of the world. After the collapse of the USSR, we lived through and witnessed its intensified bandit attacks. However, the expectation of a "unipolar world" proved false. On the contrary, between the imperialist countries' clashes for power and rivalry continue to increase in number. The main threats to imperialism are peoples struggling for freedom and their armed liberation forces. After a NATO meeting it was announced that "the 21st Century will be the century of uprisings" which shows the degree of danger from their point of view. Therefore, bourgeois economists, diplomats and contra-guerrilla chiefs concentrate on the elimination of the liberation movements of the oppressed people and specifically, armed liberation forces. For that reason, methods of destruction through violence, deception, provocation, false promises, psychological warfare, the effects of ideological attacks etc. are used. On the other hand, tendencies towards insularity, nationalism, giving up weapons and searching for compromise are noticed amongst the liberation movements as a result of isolation, the damage done by the authorities' attacks and the negative effect created by the collapse of the USSR.

Despite all this, the negative impact of the last 10 years is disappearing and the struggle of the peoples is extending worldwide. The basic necessities of the revolutionary forces are to trust in their own strength and determination for a revolutionary power. In today's world, in this period of history, our words and attitude are very important, now more than ever.

That is why the main political concept of our meeting has been chosen accordingly. The common responsibilities we carry on our shoulders will be the concrete basis for a collective revolutionary determination and co-operation between our peoples and real comradeship. This is what history expects us to do.

Between the revolutionary parties and organizations of different countries, because of their origins or some other reasons, there may be differences. However, we wish to hold the meeting on a platform where the Marxist-Leninist perspective is the guideline and compromise with imperialism is rejected.

Revolutionary greetings,

International Relations Committee
DHKP-C

A special issue of Devrimci Sol devoted to the conference is also available

The National Security Council, The Struggle and the People's Organisations

Dursun Karataş

Recently it has become clear that the MGK (National Security Council) is what determines policy in Turkey. The MGK is the institution imperialism entrusts with managing Turkey's affairs. The dominant role of the MGK is clear to the masses in Turkey, not simply to revolutionaries or people in the know. Its role and the state of the people's struggle is analysed in the following article by the General Secretary of the DHKP, Dursun Karatas:

In just about every sphere, whether of ideology, politics or the economy, the policies of both the government and the opposition are determined and set in motion by the National Security Council (MGK). According to its very recent statement, the decisions of February 28 (1997) and the policies that flowed from it were not simply directed against the then REFAHYOL government (a coalition of the Islamist Refah or Welfare Party and the rightist Dogru Yol or True Path Party). The MGK took the decisions of February 28 to try and secure once more the future of the regime, which had become dangerously unstable and was becoming imperilled, and to rescue it from the developments that were threatening it. It is clear that for those who have no answer to the economic and social questions that concern the popular masses, it is not possible to resolve the contradictions among the masses and secure stability, either with violent interventions or with "reform" or "stability packages". We have already pointed to the various reasons why the open intervention by the National Security Council in politics and directing bourgeois governments with its own hands could not bring stability but simply caused more instability. The MGK, just like the bourgeois parties, has no answers and is simply wearing itself out. We can say that the MGK is living through just such a phase right now.

The decisions of the MGK in general do not harmonise completely with the interests of the bourgeois parties. Of course they are all united in wanting to continue the war against the people and secure the regime's continued existence. However, even if it is only for appearances, the bourgeois parties must continue to play the democracy game and in elections make bids to realise their electoral potential, and do this by seeming to answer the masses and heed their demands.

Although the government of Mesut Yilmaz was founded as a government of the MGK, as a way of pushig aside the Refah Party and whitewashing the Susurluk state (the MGK, in fact), one cannot say that there is harmony between the MGK and the Motherland (ANAP) party of Yilmaz. Until the elections, the MGK and ANAP were united on the need to drive out Refah. But as this policy carried on, the ANAP began to worry about its own image among the masses and for electoral reasons started to make different noises from those made by the MGK. It is hard to predict how far those differences will deepen. But from what one can see of the Education Ministry's, or more precisely the MGK's Clothing Ordinance (ban on the wearing of Islamic headgear, veils and turbans inside official buildings and schools), the government is not able to implement the will of the MGK to a sufficient degree to guarantee stability. The government's retreat over the Clothing Ordinance has proved this. The same also goes for revelations about Susurluk and the even if only partial paralysis arising from the people's reaction.The parties taking part in the Mesut Yilmaz government, and the CHP (a social democratic party) which is supporting the coalition from the outside, have always been parties of the oligarchy and in virtually all cases, whether in government or in opposition, have been responsible for or have supported the measures taken by the Susurluk state. For this reason none of these parties of the oligarchy can admit that the state is Susurluk or wish that the full extent of the crimes against the people can come to light. But whether or not they want it to, Susurliuk has managed to come to light. The point on which the MGK and the bourgeois parties are united is on the need for themselves and thus the state to be washed clean of Susurluk and be able to seek support among the masses by wearing a new face.

While the revolutionary struggle is growing, while the the popular masses are coming out onto the streets for their rights and freedom under conditions in which the government cannot resolve their problems, the ruling strata are not able to carry out their plans the way the desire. The contradictions in the government, the opposition and all state institutions are growing dramatically. Egoism and dishonour are escalating to unbelievable proportions and nobody trusts anyone else, and the outstanding talent on show is

displayed by those who know best how to enrich themselves under prevailing conditions. While the people, the progressives, democrats and patriots are demanding a reckoning for Susurluk, the MGK tries to remove a few names and a few clapped-out policemen from office and hopes in this way to whitewash itself. While the bourgeois parties on the one hand want to be washed clean, on the other hand they want to present the reality of Susurluk, which cannot be hidden any more, as being solved. Despite all the desperate efforts of the MGK, it is less and less possible to keep the participation of the army in Susurluk a secret. At this stage the bourgeois parties believe that some people in the military will have to be sacrificed so the Susurluk file can be closed. But the MGK, in the awareness that it is itself the state, cannot permit this. This contradiction will sharpen the contradictions between the bourgeois parties, those who want to liquidate the MGK and the MGK itself.

The MGK sees securing stability as lying in liquidating or taming the revolutionary movement, the Kurdish national movement and the Islamists. To liquidate, they are not able to resort to a junta like in the past, so they are going through a phase of disorder accompanied by various sideswipes. Although the MGK could draw various groups onto its side like the reformists, the "trade unions" and "the followers of Atatürk", proclaim the decisions of February 28 and bring its own government to power, it could not guarantee stability. On the contrary, the contradictions have deepened, and opposition forces have been whipped up. The prestige of the bourgeois parties is under the control and direction of the MGK and in the eyes of the popular masses has been destroyed to a large extent.

The reformist left has politics which parallel those of the MGK, and in its role in the setting up of the MGK government, it became an instrument that craved the stability of the state. Its characteristics, which are those generally to be found inside legal left parties, are an eagerness not to come into conflict with the MGK and its governments and at every step it tries not to elicit protests from that quarter. In response, the MGK is careful not to touch the reformists while it turns its full strength against the revolutionary movement and tries various provocations.

The way of life and politics of the Refah Party and the Islamic orders were constantly integrated into the system: like the two-headed Roman god Janus, they longed for Sharia or an Islamic government without struggling against the present state. The state supported them and called for their aid every time the revolutionary struggle developed. But when a certain level of instability was reached, the state assumed that those who wanted Sharia could exploit the instability and seize power and was afraid. Their fear was increased by the rising support for Refah in opinion polls.

Disciplining a government which longs for Sharia is difficult for the MGK, which is not even all that keen on a government headed by Mesut Yilmaz. So the artificial danger of a Sharia was whipped up and Refah was driven out and plans made for new elections, under the control of the MGK, using parties with a stronger mass basis so as to secure a stronger government. The MGK, the Islamists and all bourgeois parties want to secure stability without giving up the democracy game. When the bourgeois parties can no longer maintain the democracy game the MGK takes over this task. The Islamic circles involved in this game have discovered from the constant MGK pressure that it is not sufficient to obey the laws, to act in harmony with the state and keep facing two ways like Janus to be able to continue in existence. The MGK wants a Refah Party it thinks harmless, with its sharp edges filed down. It took on the Islamic circles by means of armoured vehicles, court action and finally banning the Refah Party. This situation led to resistance, albeit passive, from Islamic circles against the repression directed at them, and their different composition, the differences between the leaders and the grassroots and fear and lack of confidence mixed with defiance. So many contradictions could put an end to this resistance at any moment, and the state can end this development by reaching an agreement, if it sees things ar e becoming dangerous. The Islamic circles in our land have no consciousness of the struggle for rights and freedom, they are in no way democrats. They think purely in their own terms. It is their traditional role to be on good terms with the state and be two-faced. But the revolutionaries cannot take this as their basis and not take account of new developments. The Islamists want to reach an understanding with the state and its allies and move within the rules of the game but their contradictions with the state at present have come into the open, even if only temporarily. We are in a situation where we must not forget the traditional role of the Islamist circles but must be prepared to act on the basis of the present contradictions.

We must deepen the contradictions between the government and the opposition and take this as our basis. The phase the Islamists have experienced should teach them under all circumstances about consciousness and the struggle for rights. Our problem is not about winning over the leadership of Refah and the Islamic orders. Our first task is to reach the masses of people who saw the hopes for their liberation in what was said by the leaders of the Islamic orders and who were for decades used by the state, whipped up against the revolutionaries and left in ignorance of what the revolutionaries really were. Secondly, we must deepen their contradictions with the state and bring them into the opposition front in its broadest form. Thirdly, we must see to it that their organisational links with the fascist organisations like the MHP are destroyed and they can become active in fields which put them beyond the reach of fascist ideology. Doubtless success in all this depends on many factors but we must become active from this perspective.

A discussion like "You are defending the Sharia, you are against secularism" is not a discussion for revolutionaries but one for the MGK and circles which seek harmony with the MGK. This is not where the dividing line runs, but rather the dividing line between on the one hand the oligarchy and the MGK which justifies and implements its policies, and on the other hand the people. At this point revolutionaries take as their basis broadening the fight against fascism. This is quite apart from the fact that the identity of revolutionaries as opponents of Sharia and opponents of any kind of MGK politics is quite clear. Some act as though they have made a great discovery be mentioning Khomeini as an example. Correct, every class and its organisation

alters its role in the course of the struggle if it finds it is making no new gains and is using wrong tactics. Various clashes arise. For this, one does not need to go all the way to the Sharia. The situation is actually one concerning the left-wing front. If because of this fear, the front against fascism is not broadened, and some opposition forces are consciously left to fascism, then if this is not the result of insufficient confidence in oneself, it is the result of other calculations. Revolutionaries must not look at the situation as one of secularism versus Sharia, because this is the perspective of the MGK: the revolutionary perspective should be one of destroying the MGK and broadening the unity of the people's forces and developing the struggle. In the headscarves clash and in its pressure directed against youth in general, it was actually the support of the revolutionaries and their participation in actions which frustrated the games of the oligarchy, which put a barrier in the way of its decisions and policies and made it retreat. For a long time the MGK has coopted quite a few left groups indirectly or directly, and it is bringing up Sharia as a way of making such circles think it is legitimate; it is assessing these left groups as its own reserve force. We have frustrated this game and shown that the left in Turkey are not the "Unarmed force" of the MGK. In this matter the borders have been drawn very clearly. For this reason the broadest masses in Turkey have been made aware again that, whoever resists repression will find support from the revolutionaries, that the revolutionaries are the actual vanguard and upholder of resistance against fascism, the vanguard of the struggle for an independent and democratic land.

The MGK will defend the current regime against all circles it sees as a threat to stability and a danger to itself, it will continue to try to get into the EU, and build governments out of bourgeois parties, while all forces which wish to make changes can be liquidated. On the other side of its wish list is the desire to render the Kurdish national movement harmless, with the Kurdish question swept off the table by granting a few cultural rights. The MGK wants to localise the problem and parallel to that seeks to open the way to some developments. While the MGK is thinking of solving the Kurdish question in this way, in the existence of the revolutionary movement and the continuation of the struggle it sees a greater danger. So it is making a comprehensive attack on the revolutionary movement. The greatest fear of the rulers is an organisation which defends the unity of all oppressed peoples and aims directly at taking power and wages its struggle with this in mind. Because this basis, this behaviour will render empty the chauvinistic and provocative policies of the oligarchy while reinforcing the people's unity. Dead ends, and the results of a struggle which in a land with many nations has tried to reduce everything to the national demands of one people have become clear and visible to all.

Assertions that were arrogantly defended have been shown to be worthless. Lately it has become clear that without consolidating the united struggles of the peoples, without revolution in Turkey, the liberation of no people can be achieved. If there are still those who deny this reality, they will sooner or later have to confess to their error. So all views such as appeals for peace or trying to link the struggle to peace are condemned to damnation and annihilation in the light of the reality of fascism. Whoever feels that the manoeuvres of imperialism are a source of promise at this point or who sees imperialist attacks as promising the birth of a Kurdish state is suffering from a figment of the imagination. The imperialists will never of their own accord have a state founded which secures the freedom of the Kurdish people. They will simply make use of various Kurdish nationalist organisations for their interests. Certainly it is necessary to analyse the contradictions among the imperialists, but this can never be the basis of our own policy. The basis is the unity of the peoples, the struggle and the smashing of the existing power structure.

Whoever suggests to the MGK, "Solve the problems of the Kurdish people so we can unite," shows he or she has not failed to grasp the demands of the Turkish and other peoples from the very beginning. Whoever does not put the liberation of other peoples on the agenda is of course doomed to stay within narrow national borders and cannot secure the unity of the peoples. This is basically what Turkish chauvinism demands. The reformists are also included in the MGK's plans for stabilisation. Leftist parties are also part of the system's democratic showcase. But these parties may not go against the system, on the contrary, they must be on the state's side and be directed against those who are against the system. Everything must move inside the system, anything outside must be destroyed in cooperation. When instability grows, all components of the system, without distinction between left and right, must work to shore up stability. That is the status quo desired by the MGK. Without fighting this status quo it is impossible to get broad sections of the people to take part in the struggle, organise them in different forms and direct them against the state. The dissemination of all manner of distorted ideologies and the annihilation of the people's values and the dynamism of the struggle are basically sought by the reformists and the petit-bourgeois intellectuals who have ben recruited by the state. It is their job to treat the MGK and TUSIAD as possessing the ability to renew, as supporters of the MGK and TUSIAD to deliberately muddy the political waters and obscure the boundaries. But this muddying of the waters makes developments and the struggle clearer. Those who see the MGK as a source of renewal, who support the formation of the Mesut Yilmaz government and who keep silent about the massacre of revolutioonaries will not be able to defend themselves when they too come under attack. An obvious sign of this is the MGK government's attack on the action by state employees. Whoever supports the government of Mesut Yilmaz must render an account for it. Whoever has kept silent about MGK policies must now pause for thought. The MGK will attack all forces who demand rights and oppose the system. Admittedly it might do this in the framework of "collecting its own strength", so it divides opposition forces and attacks them one after the other. To the extent it succeeds in driving the revolutionaries back, the reformists who have been treated "carefully" today will be attacked and subjected to various forms of repression to tame them yet further and put them at the service of the oligarchy.

All the policies of the MGK, the status quo it wants to create ultimately aim to liquidate the people's opposition. This is what can be seen. Whoever supports the policy of the MGK in any form, or keeps silent or cooperates with it, is doing it a service. The basic way to destroy the status quo of the MGK and the reformists is by stepping up the struggle in the cities and countryside. If the struggle is broadened, the state, the reformists and their media will all use demagogy about terrorism. While the state will use physical executions, mass arrests and detentions to save the status quo, the reformists will do the same in the ideological sphere. They never tire of saying what damage the armed struggle and secret organisations do to the masses.

This is a war. The war between the defenders of the status quo and those who want to destroy it. Inside the state, among the reformists, the Islamists, in almost all circles, new splits are arising, all viewpoints will give rise to their own organisations, and these will persist. No armed struggle has a chance of success unless it turns into the organising of the people, unless the masses themselves take part in the struggle in various forms.

On the subject of the armed struggle, we must think much more comprehensively in our own reality. We must reduce the influence of the state and its long arm over the masses, and increasingly raise the struggle of the masses. For that, and so as to open the way for the struggle of the masses for economic, democratic and political demands, the masses must be convinced that they can take and implement their demands themselves. If they do not learn this from their own experience they will always remain hesitant and unbelieving. Because the oligarchy and its long arm wants to keep the people in fear and make them do without organisations, filling them with a phobia about organisations. If the masses are afraid, we cannot remove the fear by saying, Don't be afraid." We must take on the task of giving the masses confidence in themselves. The masses act in proportion to their consciousness and degree of organisation. If the masses are not yet conscious, we must take seriously the question of how to develop their consciousness and organise them.

Organising the masses cannot be achieved with cheap and urgent slogans. If the masses themselves do not see the basis of legitimacy, we must show them every kind of mode of organising which opens channels of legitimacy to them. In different spheres, this kind of organising of the people can fail differently, but the crux of the problem is convincing the masses they are waging a legitimate struggle, giving them confidence in taking their own decisions and their own ability to act. One cannot hand down from above directives to the people's organisations, we cannot force them to take the decisions we wish. Despite us, they may take decisions we think are wrong. These wrong decisions show that we have not been convincing enough inside these organisations and could not transmit our views correctly. If we go about educating the masses correctly we will not find it difficult to correct mistaken decisions and conceptions. It is certain that if we are able to give the masses confidence in making their own decisions and can anchor our views among them, then they will make more positive decisions and their experiences will accelerate the development of their education. We must prepare ourselves to confront the fact that inside the organisations of the people very different viewpoints may arise at the same time. If it does not go against the general demands of the people, if it does not serve the enemy, there is no barrier to putting the same demands in another style and expressing them again with a different understanding of what they are. Among sections of the people there are many motivations we think are wrong or which shows signs of the enemy's mentality, though the enemy has them to a much greater extent. In the organisations we are talking about, our people cannot display these features and cannot seek to further them, but nor can they force the people who have these motivations to give them up. Of course the ideological struggle and the education and propaganda activities are continued in this direction, work is being done to make clear what the national values of the people are, what motivations can be expressed and how. Organising the people on the one hand must take these differences into account. We must frustrate the moves of the state and its long arm using skilful politics and tactics which analyse well organisations and the souls of the masses and meet their demands. We must remove any confusion they may have in their heads.

The state wants to intimidate the leftist, anti-fascist, democratic masses in particular and drive them into the arms of the reformists. This is the basis for reformism's development. We are in the position of putting organisers and activists into both the armed sruggle and into the organisation of the masses, without counterposing them to each other. At present, the MGK and the parallel organisations will try to put more wide-ranging attacks on the agenda. There is no alternative to increasing the armed struggle and the struggle of the masses, to oppose these attacks and break down the status quo. All revolutionaries, progressives and left-wing forces will define themselves anew on this basis.

Whoever does not develop new politics on this basis, whoever does not develop the armed struggle and the struggle of the masses in a more creative way, it does not matter what he or she says to justify what they do because they are condemned to disappear. We must not forget that in the course of developing the struggle new splits could arise and so could new hostilities and provocations. Essentially, there is no difference between the positions of many left groups and the positions of the bourgeoisie. Words differ but practice is the same. In the course of the struggle's development, the difference in words will also disappear.

While we seek to intervene in every area of life with our revolutionary politics, we will draw every kind of fascist violence against us. We will give new martyrs and new prisoners. Fascism will try to use this repression to draw us into the system. In this regard we must be serious about the way we conduct the ideological struggle and not neglect it. People filled with the system's contradictions take part in the struggle easily. But if we don't educate them they can easily return to the system or become counter-revolutionaries.

We are entering a much more difficult phase in which developments will be rapid. All cadres and sympathisers of the Party-Front must show the ability to act even more morally, sensitively and responsibly.

THE PROTOCOL OF DHKP-C AND PKK AND DEVELOPMENTS

The Struggle Improves with Alliances Through Practice in Everyday Life Not by Propagandising

Over a year ago, the DHKP-C concluded a protocol with the PKK in an effort to unite the struggle against the joint enemy, the oligarchy in Turkey. The protocol did not lead to concrete results. Here is our explanation why this was the case. This article was published in the March 1998 issue of Devrimci Sol, the official voice of the DHKP-C

The protocol between the DHKP-C and the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) was discussed, signed and announced to the public under the name of "This is Our Call to Build the Revolutionary Front" during the last month of 1996, and became a source of fear for the oligarchy and happiness and new hope for democrats and revolutionaries.

The period since then has clearly not met up to these expectations. Obviously this can be evaluated from several angles. But those responsible for this failure continue to criticise and adopt a superior attitude to the left wing in Turkey (in their words, "the Turkish left wing") about the concept of unity, as if the left wing does not exist and they themselves bear no responsibility. This is a matter that should be debated separately.

For instance, to give a recent example, the ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan, military wing of PKK) said in the latest issue of Alternatif magazine that; "Towards this force (DHKP-C) our approach was under the concept of unity. The deficiencies in their understanding of struggle are holding them back from unity. In particular, there has been the war in Kurdistan, its effects on the masses and again, new improvements in the situation in Turkey, and despite all these, their inactivity apart from organising a front has created uneasiness even among their cadres. But they still insist upon their known attitude and line regardless of all these. In fact, the main principle of Marxism is to favour the broadest possible unity. At this point they could not tolerate our presence in Turkey. If they call themselves 'democratic and revolutionary', they should participate in regional and local unity - if nothing else is possible." (Alternatif, January-February 1998, issue no: 6-7)

The Revolutionary Front is the necessity for the Revolution of Turkey. It will be built one way or another. We have not changed our mind about it. Within struggle and war, there is no place for disappointments. If this time there was no success, next time we'll try again. We will continue our struggle against an attitude which has a negative impact on unity and fronts. This also shows our persistence and determination about unity.

Let's look at this passage. There is no trace of the "Call for the Revolutionary Front". It says that "they should participate in regional and local unity". In fact, we declared that we could go beyond this point. Why does the commander speaking on behalf of the ARGK ignore this fact?

He ignores it, Because there is no such idea or formation of such unity, a revolutionary front, on the agenda of the ARGK, ERNK (National Liberation Front of Kurdistan) or the PKK.

Whoever says that we do not participate in unity should read the protocol once more. Whoever had forgotten or did not pay enough attention should check again. What did we say, what happened and why did it not work?

(1) We gave our word to build the Revolutionary Front. We reached an agreement to put it into practice and initiate it. We declared and signed that "we are ready to show the necessary effort and self-sacrifice". This was covering all areas of struggle. Of course, the Revolutionary Front would not be created with intentions but with concrete steps, organisations and institutions that cover life and practice. The problem occurred at this point.

(2) Firstly, a joint committee would be formed, which will control and make sure the protocol will be put into practice. This was brought on the agenda right after the formation of the protocol and agreement had been reached. The decision was made about how and where this committee would be formed. The PKK asked for 1-1.5 months to organise the place where the committee would be formed. We agreed. It took one year. Nothing was done. Our questions of "what happened, why did it not start?" did not make a difference. And our questions have received no answers

even now.

Unity for the construction of the Revolutionary Front is a serious business. In a situation where the matters agreed upon are not carried out and they do not bother to explain the reasons, the required seriousness is no longer present.

(3) Despite this, we wanted to take some steps in these areas. We pushed harder. In almost all these areas, they did not want to be in unity.

Besides, we said in the protocol "Our alliance that aims to form and develop the unity of our peoples in a front, undertake the development of the collective organisations and struggle against the common enemy for the interests of our peoples and revolution in all legal institutions, trade unions, professional boards, democratic positions like associations, among workers and civil servants, the press and cultural front, in the villages, among student youth, in the jails and residential areas and abroad, where our parties are in charge or are participating."

A protocol was signed for the workers and civil servants sector only with great difficulty. This was also full of comedy. No matter what, they wanted to put the word "peace" in the protocol papers. It came to the point where the words "peaceful struggle" were put in. And they did not obey any of the principles or concepts of this protocol. They did not keep their promises in the General Congress of SES (Trade Union of Health Workers). By breaching the agreements they rejected the revolutionary alliance out of fear of losing union positions. When we asked for their self-criticism, they grew aggressive. Nobody accepted responsibility. In Maliye-Sen[1] "The Patriotic Workers" denied the alliance by declaring that the protocol has no significance for them. Even the lack of seriousness about the protocol did not bother them. In Genel-Is[2] they signed the resolutions whose objective was liquidation. In the Congress of DISK[3], they were not in unity against the MGK[4] efforts at liquidationism within DISK.

(4) Unity efforts among youth were left to fail. They said, "either what we say willl be done, or nothing". In the end, this did not happen. Their understanding was that everything revolves around them. Anything else was wrong.

(5) They did nothing to establish the People's Councils, and did not even attend them. This is what we said in the protocol: "WE AIM TO SPREAD THE ALLIANCE TO ALL AREAS. In the light of today's concrete duties, to organise the democratic opposition of our peoples, we aim and take it as a duty to develop a council which will cover all forces, to enable our peoples to participate and make decisions through these councils, to create opportunities for self-determination, and therefore to establish the local People's Councils, from the smallest residential areas to the biggest cities, in every area." All revolutionary popular opinion can bear witness to this: since then in many places the councils have started to function, but the PKK did not participate in the work, including in the areas where they have a presence, and in some other places it was not clear whether they have been participating or not, where they display an unserious attitude.

(6) To write a new Constitution and have people acknowledge it as their own was our collective idea. This was also mentioned in the protocol. "We take it as a duty to prepare a draft constitution that aims for independence and democracy, and have people acknowledge it by providing for the participation of all anti-imperialist, anti-fascist organisations and individuals who want freedom and justice."

We prepared the Draft Constitution and gave it to them. They said they have no objection but only The Right of Self-Determination of Nations should be detailed. There was no problem. When it was time to continue the campaign, they were not interested. During the debate they said things like "they are busy, it is not today's job and you do it". And it is not certain what to say and to whom. In almost each contact the responsible ones on their side were different. The newcomer says, " he/she does not know anything about it". Some of them would even say, "People's Councils? What are they?"

(7) We made suggestions about collective practical organising. It was clear that this would also develop the implementation of the protocol. For example, the occupation of territory in Iraq by the Turkish oligarchy was on the agenda. We said, let's do something together. They did not accept this.

We said, let's celebrate Newroz (Kurdish new year) together. They did not accept this.

(8) We said, let's organise the struggle of the captives in the prisons collectively. They accepted it. In fact, they (at the top level) suggested the establishment of "the United Resistance Committees" in the prisons. We asked them how they were thinking of doing it. They did not reply. Later we suggested that the prisoners' central structures should debate it themselves and a collective organisational model would be implemented. The prisons debated. At the end the PKK captives said, "there is no common point to agree on in the prisons."

In the reply to the document submitted by the DHKP-C captives, the PKK prisons central structure said: " First of all, our approaches towards the prisons and the foreseen roles of the dungeons are different. Our understanding of the actions and the foreseen roles of the dungeons are far apart. On this basis to form a collective platform and centre for coordination is very difficult. We do not think that your suggestion of the establishment of a coordination centre for all prisons is realistic. Neither would it function."

It said in the document, "You made a suggestion during the talks at central level about united resistance committees, but you did not mention how they would be formed." However, what they wrote back to us said nothing about them. So why was the suggestion made in the first place?

(9) This is what these concrete developments show; all their words are for propaganda only. They are just words. They cannot be in unity with anyone. The aims of the articles in their publications like "let's unite and establish a collective headquarters" are for propaganda. Within this propaganda, the most striking one is the words of "whoever wants whatever, we'll give it" and it is repeated frequently. In fact,

the PKK do not join in such relations with anyone. The PKK only want useful forces that support and revolve around them.

These are the realities we live with concretely. Before the protocol, in a guerrilla zone, we were facing great difficulties. Again the PKK were talking from on high. We asked for certain minimal things from them, whether through them selling them to us, lending or giving them as solidarity. They did not even reply.

Besides, after some time, two of our fighters escaped from this same zone with their weapons. The PKK seized these weapons and did not give them back. We demanded them, one year passed and still they did not reply.

Where are solidarity, revolutionary behaviour and principles?

While this is the situation, what shall we do together and how?

The PKK will be comfortable if we say; "If you want you can lead our troops", "let's share the delegates in such and such a place" etc. The reality of politics and organisation cannot be like this. We remind them to be realistic. But their involvement is a matter of propaganda.

(10) The legal organisations within the PKK orbit wanted to be with reformists like the ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and did not want to be seen with revolutionaries. Therefore there could not have been any alliance in actions. We insisted, but to no avail.

The alliance in legal and democratic areas that was also foreseen in the protocol became impossible as a result of such politics. In this subject no political resolution could be made and the signature under the protocol did not carry any weight for anyone within these areas. The main problem is not the non-recognition of central decisions in the regions but far more the unwillingness of their centre to act in unity and collectivity.

(11) They say, "let's publish a daily paper together and use TV" etc. OK, but suggest a project to us and let's talk about it, we say. When concreteness is required, the subject is forgotten. In reality the PKK want only "workers", not sharing or collective administration.

(12) We were open and took seriously every subject and every word. Whenever it was necessary, in certain subjects, we told them they were wrong or had wrong information and gave the correct information. We said, if there is a problem, first ask us.

As if nothing had happened, we were been sold via TV. They prepared TV programmes to fawn upon Sabanci and compliments were broadcast. (The Sabancis are the owners of one of the biggest trusts and are members of the oligarchy in Turkey. One of them, Özdemir Sabanci, was executed by the DHKP-C in 1996.) Our actions were announced as suspicious. When the name of a country was mentioned in the Middle East and connected with Mustafa Duyar's capture, they panicked and that country was fawned upon, we were sold again (Duyar was one of those who punished Özdemir Sabanci. He later turned traitor and surrendered to the Turkish embassy in Syria, where he had taken refuge.)

(13) They suggested to us the making of a TV programme about March 30. We accepted it. The programme was prepared. Two days later the programme was cancelled without asking our opinion. The reason was obvious. Everything had to be theirs. Later, the mentioned programme was put in the archives, another programme was prepared with three or four untrustworthy reformists, they talk about March 30 and meanwhile by using them as shop-windows, they bring themselves to the fore. Is unity possible with such a mentality?

(14) A revolutionary front would consist also of the armed forces, the guerrillas. But the reality is, the ones who cannot establish unity in minor things can never establish unity among guerrillas. The alliances that have allegedly succeeded have nothing to do with proper alliances and fronts. Everything is obvious. "The United Forces" is mentioned. There is no such thing. There are only a few men of the TDP[5]. They do not even mention them.

Many of the actions in the Black Sea region and Taurus Mountains were claimed by the ARGK in their publications. But in the recent issues of Alternatif magazine, in articles like "Conversation by radio", it has been said that the actions were carried out by the United Forces. For example, in Ülkede Gundem (The Agenda in the Country) and Özgur Politika (Free Politics) daily newspapers of August 17-18, it is published that in Mesudiye/Ordu the guerrillas organised a checkpoint action and a policeman was shot. The news was headed as "The ARGK guerrillas, who have intensified activities in the Black Sea region" The same action was claimed by the United Forces in the November-December '97 issue of Alternatif. There are dozens of similar examples. The majority of the actions that are claimed by the United Forces and written about in Alternatif were also claimed by the ARGK in the mass publications. What is the aim? In the mass-circulation publications, ARGK, in the others, United Forces. Is this kind of unity possible, is there a serious attempt at unity here? And after that, it is said that there is no formation and programme of the United Forces yet. In November 1997, in Alternatif, while the actions were claimed by the United Forces, in Yurtsever Genclik (Patriotic Youth) magazine in November 1997, Semdin Sakik wrote that "The name of this organisation is not formally announced yet. But such activity will take place."

These things are lacking in seriousness.

As a participant in the United Forces, the DHP is also mentioned. In fact there is no such organisation called DHP. The PKK, in order to enlarge the scope for manoeuvre, is using this name through some of their men. This route is dangerous and forces the concept of unity into a cul-de-sac. It is not too difficult after all. Everybody can establish "organisations" internally and use such names. Revolutionaries do not cheat each other.

(15) In the beginning of the passage in Alternatif, it says that; "In the last 4-5 years, the DHKP has been present in the areas like Ovacik and Dersim. We acted together. A period of winter was spent together..." Unserious comments. As with announcing "the United Forces" and comfortably claiming the actions by the ARGK, they used to talk

as they wish and not be made accountable and explain their actions. Announcing our presence in Dersim in the last 4-5 years is not because of ignorance but follows their logic, which is to belittle others. Since 1991, for the last 8 years, we have had guerrillas in Dersim. The lines of "we spent the winter together" have nothing to do with Dersim. The mentioned togetherness happened in Tokat. Because of the operations in Sivas, they came to Tokat, in a chance meeting they said they had no contacts and required help, and all kind of facilities were provided, including a shelter. (Photographs of this shelter were also published in the media during an operation by the state in Turkey.) Even then they were at such a stage in relations that they introduced themselves as DHKP-C guerrillas to peasants, rather than using their true identities. How can an organisation use another's name, what kind of understanding is this?

(16) In an interview with the ARGK, they say "they helped us". This subject was mentioned in several other articles and speeches. They should reveal how they helped us. These kind of comments are written and said very often. We repeat: it is not correct. If the other way round is claimed, they should reveal it.

(17) The "Spreading to Turkey" programme of the PKK is not new. In this matter the comment of "the left-wing could not do it, we waited, therefore we are doing it now" is wrong. Since 1990, to establish an organisation for Turkey and develop DHP is on their agenda. They could not succeed at it.

The function of the DHP was only to make the propaganda of the PKK and to swear at the left wing, especially us, in PKK style. They had no other significant work to do. During the period when our organisation was facing an internal conflict, they shamelessly invited our militants to go over to their organisation and, using the same tactics as the putschists, announced that "the DS (Devrimci Sol, Revolutionary Left) is finished" A very opportunist and primitive way of understanding. The DHP, naturally, cannot develop within the logic of the PKK and cannot achieve an original line. It can only function as an advertisement for the PKK. There is either the PKK or the DHP. Both cannot exist. They are producing a caricatured version of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union's attitude.

(18) The PKK do not participate in any partnership unless they are in control. Relations on the basis of equality are not to their taste neither. They will be in charge and in control. The functioning of an alliance involving the PKK is subject to this condition. Where the PKK has no control, the agreements and signatures are invalid as far as the PKK is concerned.

"Administrative unity? Let's do it," they say. The questions of how it will happen and what the function is are left uncertain. When we say let's concretise, they are silent. We have faced many examples of this.

The protocol is here, let's put it into action. Why was it not applied? Let's discuss it, render an account and renew it.

Who is responsible for what and what are the limits of authority? Let's define them. Let's make detailed and concrete programmes how the Revolutionary Front will be formed in all areas. As far as we are concerned, there is no obstacle to these. We took the necessary steps in these and are ready for new ones. But steps which meet with no response cannot go forward in a one-sided manner.

The idea of "left-wing congress" was brought. We said, it is not realistic. But if you can do it, do it. If the result is positive and unity is established, the necessary action will be taken. They did not even go a step further. Those who cannot be in unity with us, can be in unity with nobody.

(19) At the level of international relations, the PKK do not show the attitude of solidarity, continuously spreading the politics of blackening others, especially us. In July 1997, during the International Youth Festival in Cuba, the bulletin they distributed is a striking example.

" Turkish revolutionaries could not free themselves of the official ideology of the Turkish state, Kemalism. They have no power to do this and therefore they are the captives of chauvinism. They are on the side of the Turkish state and they do not fulfil their internationalist responsibilities towards the Kurdish guerrillas.

Meanwhile the Turkish leftists formed a basis for the military coups taking place every 10 years. First of all, we want to comment on that reality. Kemalism is a secret fascism administrated by western imperialists. Its mission is to organise massacres against Armenians, Greeks and Kurds and protect the capitalist system. If the Turkish leftists cannot understand this, they cannot perform their internationalist responsibilities"

Is unity possible when such a style and logic exists that sees the "Turkish left" as set out above? In spoken terms they do not hesitate to blacken others and come up with such comments. While the reality is obvious, the words about help in every area, solidarity and "we'll give and do what you want" are only misleading.

(20) In most cases the politics of the PKK leadership are based upon belittling the Turkish left. There are several consequences of this logic, one of them is always being in search of a unity that will be subservient to it. Because the "Turkish left" is seen as forces to be administered and directed. This logic was also used to send several messages to the oligarchy.

In an interview with Cumhuriyet (Republic) paper, the following question is asked to (PKK leader Abdullah) Öcalan, "A protocol between the PKK and Dev-Sol is mentioned. Is Dev-Sol an extension of the PKK in the cities?"

Öcalan replies, "In general, the type of environment that I created gave the left the chance to breathe. But to say that we gave a mission to Dev-Sol consciously is exaggeration. It is correct that Dev-Sol gets power from us. But we do not have such directives like kill such and such. I clarify it openly. We could use them properly. The Turkish left is unbelievably backward" (Cumhuriyet, 7.12.1991, Semin Idiz)

The definition is clear: "They do not give missions to Dev-Sol consciously" but they can, that is, they can direct it. The PKK is ready for an agreement with the state, the PKK also has the po-

wer to affect Dev-Sol, so the state should use this opportunity! This is what is said.

Here is another interview. IHA interviewed Öcalan, it was not broadcast on IHA, but broadcast on MED TV. "The late (Turgut) Özal (Turkish prime minister) had a will. I value it. We should make it the topic of the day. Erbakan also has made some approaches. This should be on the agenda as well. There are even some voices in the military, with all my true feelings these should be clarified. I want a beautiful Turkey with all my heart. I also had relations with the Turkish left. Even with Dev-Sol and such. I believe in the necessity to introduce them to the political arena. There are many such groups. I will endeavour to solve all their problems within democratic boundaries. Some should not be uncomfortable about this."

That is, who is pulling whom and where? Who is giving duties and to whom? There is no such thing. More importantly, the mentality is unhealthy. Relations with revolutionary organisations cannot be used as tools for giving messages to the bourgeoisie.

(21) This approach in the PKK, looking down on the other organisations as forces to be directed and administered is also widespread among their rank and file. Each of them acts like a coarse overseer who sees others as being there to take orders. The words have no meaning. Whatever is said today is denied the next day. "Forget it, let's look at the future. Let's look at such work.. " is said. Another one comes and denies what the previous one said too. That is, whatever is on their agenda they try to engage you to it. They want you to be in a position of a simple supporter.

(22) The expansion of the guerrillas on the mountains of our country is a threat to the oligarchy. And one of the necessary actions to clear the obstacles in front of the class war and develop revolution is clearly to provide this expansion. But it is also clear that, bringing this expansion on the agenda for "tactical" purposes will not develop the revolution. For the PKK, making "extending to Turkey" a reality means extending to the Black Sea Region. The PKK show it as proof. But the PKK have no significant forces in the Black Sea Region. The oligarchy exaggerated the present situation in order to intensify oppression there, and they also succeeded in their objective.

(23) Their comment about extending towards the Black Sea and Taurus Mountains as "strategic", not "tactical" means the failure of the principal strategic thesis of the PKK.

The colonialism thesis has failed and extending to Turkey was born as a result of the failure.

As we mentioned, "extending to Turkey" is not a new concept for the PKK. But extending to Turkey is a political preference, and sending guerrillas to several mountains of Turkey alone does not mean there is an extension to Turkey. In a different area, the line of HADEP and HEP was that "we are parties of Turkey". And these parties had branches in almost every city of Turkey. Despite this they could not extend to Turkey and stayed Kurdish parties. Because they do not have the mentality of being from Turkey and on the contrary, their political method is limited within the bounds of Kurdish nationalism. The essence of the problem is the same in all areas of struggle.

To hide the failure of the separate revolution (in this sense separate organising, a separate struggle) and to hide the bankruptcy both of "extending to Turkey" and the colonialism theory, they are now claiming that they had this perspective from the start.

For instance; "the relations between our revolution with the revolution of Turkey is not like the relations between the revolutions of two countries. The futures of our peoples are to be interwoven. This and some other reasons are compelling the uniting of our revolution's development." (September 14, 1997, Ülkede Gündem, M. Can Yüce) and again "if there will be revolution, it will happen in Turkey and Kurdistan together" (Semdin Sakik)

In the Kurdish nationalist press, you can read many similar comments. We have been saying such things for years. But these were ignored and criticised as "Kemalism". An understanding, which puts the Turkish people on the same level as the Greek people in their party programme, and which is now saying things of the type we have quoted above, requires that an evaluation be made of the past. If such an evaluation is not made, it will have no power to persuade; moreover, unifications and alliances will not meet with a response.

Finally;

The protocol carrying signatures at the central level is known. Up to now, we were faithful towards all our signatures. We also showed the same fidelity in the protocol. Whatever we have done is known. Despite our concrete suggestions and persistence, whatever the PKK did not do is also known. In order to reach the goals of the protocol, we have almost run after the PKK in areas. We prepared the constitution and presented it. We made suggestions in practical matters. We showed openness. What we got in return is the same attitude, behaviour and insensitivity as was the case before the protocol.

The necessity to discuss the problems was stated to them but we could not get a reply. Therefore this explanation became essential.

The signature was disowned. They used methods with us that cannot be used in revolutionary relations.

As long as attitudes do not change, building the revolutionary front becomes impossible. Minds should be changed. Political methods should be changed.

The Revolutionary Front is a must for the revolution of Turkey. One way or another it will be established. We will not give up. There is no place for disappointment in the struggle and war. This time, if it did not happen the right way, we'll try again. We will continue our struggle against understandings failing to result in fronts or unification. This is also a sign of our determination and persistence with regard to the concept of unity.

[1] Trade Union for the workers in the institutions of the Ministry of Finance

[2] General Workers Union

[3] The Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions

[4] National Security Council

[5] Revolution Party of Turkey

DOCUMENTATION

Protokol of DHKP and PKK

Our Call To Form A Revolutionary Front!

We, the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and the DHKP (Revolutionary People'sLiberation Party), would like to make the following statement public:

As the result of the discussions and talks which we have been holding for some time now, once again our parties are forming a united front, which will be active on all levels in the interest of the liberation of our peoples.

The preparation of such a revolutionary front is a fundamentally significant expression of the process we are currently engaged in, namely the cooperation and alliance of our parties.The democratic and revolutionary struggle of our peoples and the creation ofa revolutionary front are important tasks. We are well aware of how significant this task is, and that simply stating "we have formed a front"is by no means enough.The DHKP and the PKK will undertake, within their organizations, to foster unity among cadre and supporters at all levels, and we call on all progressive and democratic forces to join us in this task. The first step towards this is this protocol, which we are now publishing.

The enemy's strength lies in the disorganization and disunity of the people's forces. With each passing day, our responsibility to unify our peoples and organize the popular forces becomes greater, and each day we are called upon to take bigger steps.

The enemy is able to continue its war against the people and the revolutionary and patriotic forces, even at a time when the system is on edge and its dirty business has been exposed, and despite all of ist internal struggles, the system is able to sustain itself on the basis of ist own interests. So shouldn't we - revolutionary, patriotic, and democratic organizations and institutions - unify ourselves as well?

There is no reason whatsoever not to.One of the most important factors in this seems to be the negative tradition of unity here. But our duty for our peoples and our striving towards revolution and the seizure of power demands that we overcome this negative tradition.

While the discontent and anger among the people is growing everywhere -except among a handful of collaborators, who are enemies of the people, and the members of the bourgeoisie - as a result of the cover which was given to the murderous, fascistic, and destructive face of the regime, it is important for the people's forces to become united, to organize their solidarity, and to develop a common struggle. But this has not yet become reality. That is the main reason why, despite the perfect conditions, amassive popular movement has not yet arisen.Our call is directed at all popular forces: those who demand democracy and independence, those who demand freedom and justice, those who demand freedom of worship and freedom of the press, those who demand the right of self-determination for all peoples, those who demand a end to the unjust war, all those who wish to live in a land where there is no torture, no executions, no disappearances, no murders by unknown assailants, a country where villages are not burned, a country where there are no persons forced into exile, where there is no prostitution, drugs, or mafia gangs. Our call goes out to all those who don't want our country to be a satellite of imperialism and to all those who are struggling against the exploitative and repressive regime.

All of these demands can only be realized if all those who are making the demands are organized into one unit. It is our duty and our responsibility to our peoples to struggle against this regime which is waging a war on our peoples. Our struggle must be on all levels, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed, military, political,cultural, economic, and democratic. We must develop all forms of solidarity and a common struggle and take steps forward in each of these areas.

Our parties, who recognize the importance of this, are making this call asallies, and we call on everyone to develop a revolutionary front and unity between our peoples.

The face of our country is a bloody picture of brutality. This picture is ripe with the necessary con-

ditions for revolution: The regime is at its end.

It is trying to extend its existence by oppressing the people and by increasing poverty and degeneration. This has deepened the contradictions within the regime. Without hesitation, we can say that the preconditions for revolution in ourcountry have been fulfilled. The problem is to organize and unite the revolutionaries, the peoples, and the progressive forces.

We must be united in our opposition to fascism, which is responsible for the brutality, for depriving the people of their rights and freedom, and for terrorizing those who stand up and demand rights and freedoms. This unity is necessary at all levels. Only in this way can the nations, peoples, and organizations fighting for the liberation of the peoples achieve victory.

All oppressed people, all nations and minorities, all workers, and even individual persons, patriots, democrats, and progressives - whom the regime seeks to oppress and destroy - all those who are against this regime and who are against imperialism, yet who cannot freely express their opinions, must become united. These alliances must seek to serve all of these people. Exclusionary tactics only broaden the front of the enemy.

The freedom of our peoples will be gained by overthrowing the system. But this system can only be destroyed if the people struggle together. It is always the same ruling class which exploits and blackmails both the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Both peoples have the same enemy. This enemy is the central ruling authorities in Turkey and Kurdistan.Although the Turkish and Kurdish ruling classes have propagated numerous campaigns of chauvinistic and nationalistic hatred, they have never been able to turn the two peoples against one another. They have sought to suppress the strengthening national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people by means of terror. When terror alone was not enough, they turned to chauvinistic and nationalistic policies and attempts to turn the Turkish andKurdish peoples against one another and thereby prevent the independence and freedom of the two peoples. But despite all their attempts, they could not make enemies out of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples.

The future and destiny of both the Kurdish and the Turkish people are mutually dependent upon one another.All forces which believe in revolution and socialism must accept this fact. Now more than ever it is clear that no strategy or tactic which ignores this fundamental truth has a chance of reaching its goal.

Because of this fact and necessity, the PKK and the DHKP see the formationof a revolutionary front as a precursor to achieving and building a freefuture for our peoples. We are proud and happy to have taken this step of building an alliance.

The task of building a revolutionary unity between our peoples and their revolutionary, democratic, progressive, and fighting forces can not be put off any longer.The unity of our peoples is a necessity. Without taking up this great and historic responsibility, which necessity has forced upon us, no unity can beachieved.

We realize that an organization without answers to the goals, hopes, and aspirations of the people has no chance of survival. Recognizing that, an organization which does not address the demands for organizing resulting from burning necessity will be confronted with its own demise.

Every step, every resulting organization must have answers to the needs of the nation and the society. That is their very reason for existence. Our peoples have sensed the desire for joint organizing and common methods of struggle which have arisen from national and social needs. Our people need a very broad front of organization. Since even the smallest of demands have been crushed with violence, the thoughts and languages of peoples banned outright, people wallowing in torture, disappearing, being executed,villages burned to the ground and forcibly evacuated, since murders by unknown assailants are now part of daily life, the fight against our common enemy must be carried out on the basis of unity, solidarity, and a joint struggle. No one can flee from this urgent and historic task or fail toaddress it.

As the PKK and the DHKP, we declare:Our Goal Is A United Front Between Our Peoples!

The main goal of this unity is to join together our peoples in one front and to link up and develop the struggles of our peoples on all levels. This alliance, along with the necessary courage and commitment from us, will allow us to create a revolutionary front between our peoples and all legal and illegal groups, parties, and institutions who are suffering under this system and who are struggling or who wish to struggle against this system.We seeks to unite all of these people under one roof.

Our Goal Is Common Resistance And Joint Popular Power

Every where we live, we are mercilessly attacked by the enemy. The central authorities are seeking to eliminate our struggle. The division of our peoples is a serious setback to our struggle. For independence, democracy,and the right of self-determination for all peoples, our peoples must fight the enemy together and overthrow it. Only an independent, democratic

popular power can secure the rights for all nations, national minorities, and classes of people.

Our Goal Is To Guarantee The Free Exercise Off All Rights For The KurdishPeople, Including The Right To Form An Independent State

A joint struggle for the shared liberation of our peoples is a means of increasing the brotherhood and unity of our peoples. We accept, without preconditions, the right to self-determination for the Kurdish people, including the right to form an independent state.

One Of The Foundations Of Our Unity Is To Oppose Imperialism And To Defend Our Independence

Today, the imperialists are directly or indirectly responsible for all theattacks being carried out against our peoples. The continuing unjust war of the ruling classes in Turkey against our peoples is being kept in motion with the support of imperialism. Imperialism is primarily responsible for the picture which exists in our country today. It is the enemy of independence, democracy, and the peoples' right to self-determination. It isclear that we cannot achieve these goals without struggling against imperialism. We state that we are against imperialism and for the independence of our lands and for the defense of our peoples, that we wish to drive out and remove all military installations in our country which belong to the imperialist states, and that we will not grant the imperialist powers the right or privilege to establish military bases on our territory,and that all of the united patriotic forces are prepared to enforce this.Our alliance views our peoples as the true owners of all our natural resources and all the fruits of our land, and our peoples and we see that an end to exploitation and plunder is a precondition of independence.

Our Goal Is To Unite All Popular Forces

Countless contradictions exist between the various classes of peoples andthe regime. We accept that one of the fundamentals, from the perspective of power as our goal, is to broaden the revolutionary front and to make more narrow the front nationalities, all religions and faiths, and alloccupations and classes of people. We view our alliance as a democratic undertaking and we aim to create the conditions in which all national minorities and religious groups and freely express and develop their cultures and faiths.

The Demand For Democracy And Independence Is The Actual And ConcreteFoundation Of The Unity Of The Popular Forces

Bearing that in mind, we seek to undo all anti-democratic practices and aswell as the fascist Constitution of the September 12th putsch, which ignores the will of the people, bans forms of organizing, and robs the people of their right to free speech and decision making. A new draft Constitution will be prepared by the broadest of popular forces, with the goal being democracy and independence. All anti-fascist and anti-imperialist groups and all those organizations, parties, and persons on the side of freedom and justice will be involved in this process.

Our Goal Is To Practice Unity In All Areas

In light of the concrete tasks which lie ahead, we have established the following goals, namely to organize the democratic opposition of ourpeoples, to develop a Parliament which represents all of the popular forces, to give our people the right to speak and make decisions by means of thisParliament, and to create the possibility of establishing popular assemblies from every tiny settlement to the largest of the metropoles so that people can put their destiny into their own hands.Our alliance, which seeks to establish and extend a common front between ourpeoples, requires both parties - in all legal institutions, such as laborunions and various associations, in which our parties are organized, in alldemocratic fields of struggle among workers and bureaucrats, in thevillages, in the press, on the cultural front, among the students and youth, in the prisons, in the factories and neighborhoods, and in countries abroad- to wage a joint struggle against our common enemy, to increase sharedorganizing efforts, and to give each other assistance and develop mutualsolidarity.

All of this is necessary to build up the revolutionary front, at the base,among the masses, step by step in the struggle. This is how the revolutionary front of our peoples will come about. Our alliance has decided to create unity in the democratic struggle in all areas of life, and to takesteps to build up the democratic front. Now is the time to unite all forces on the basis of this unity into the revolutionary front.

We, the PKK and the DHKP, see this first step as a way to begin bringing all revolutionary, democratic, and progressive organizations and institutions together, on all levels and in every form, without excluding any form of struggle or organization, and we call on all peoples, organizations, andinstitutions to join us in this and thereby make it stronger.

DHKP (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party)
PKK
(Kurdistan Workers Party)
December 22, 1996

CONTRA-ACTIONS AND THE ACTIONS THAT SERVE THEM

The revolution is a system of values. These values are what it maintains in the face of the great strength of the counterrevolution and gradually it permeates the masses with them. Before the revolution and also after the revolution when the power is held by the people, these values play a decisive role. The counterrevolution therefore tries to attack the revolutionary movement with these values because it has not been able to destroy it with military and physical methods, and the counterrevolution also seeks to drive back the masses by saturating them in these values. There are many methods they use. The contra-guerrilla methods which take the form of "psychological warfare" range from overt propaganda to provocations. For them, the key factor is the need, by whatever means necessary, to sully the revolutionaries, their actions, aims and purposes and to seek to deprive them of respectability in the eyes of the people.

Especially since the Susurluk scandal erupted, the structure, organisation and relationships of the contra-guerrillas have come into the foreground. It is both correct and necessary to examine them with a view to revealing and unmasking the state itself. However, that is a secondary matter from our viewpoint, for what interests us is what the contra-guerrillas do, why they do it and what the consequences are for the revolutionaries and the masses. If this is not given a satisfactory answer, if the contra-guerrilla phenomenon is seen as a police matter rather than a political one, one will not be able to make sense of it. We all know what can happen as a result of such confusion - either the revolutionary actions, whose character is most clearly visible, will be slandered as "provocations", or actions which in method and aim can only be those of contra-guerrillas are practiced in the name of revolution and patriotism.

This article was published in the March 1998 issue of Devrimci Sol, the official voice of the DHKP-C. Some parts of the original text are not published in this translation.

It is clear that the contra-guerrillas are practicing the politics of provocation. They carry out actions that correspond to these politics. But to be able to distance oneself from them one must know which actions are those of contra-guerrillas,which actions aim at being provocations or are carried out as the result of provocations, one must be able to recognise well the actions of the contra-guerrillas and which actions serve them, and be able to correctly analyse them from the viewpoint of their forms and consequences.

In the history of the class struggle in our country, the actions of the contra-guerrillas play an important part. This is because at the time they happened, some of these actions had a particular significance from the point of view of the oligarchy's politics. This list of actions ranges from the sinking of ships to the murder of Abdi Ipekci, as well as the murders of Aksoy, Ücok and Mumcu, who were known as "progressive Kemalists", but who in reality were not outside the orbit of the regime, and extends as far as the massacres in Maras and Gazi. On the other hand there are also actions, which in regard to their forms and consequences were those of "contras", but those who carried out the action belong to the "left". The revolution in Turkey is damaged just as much by these actions, which "serve the contras", as by the actions of the "contras" themselves. When one moves away from socialism, independence, revolutionary politics and closer to pragmatism, bourgeois politics and manoeuvres acceptable to the regime, action of the kind increased in number which left revolutionaries wondering: "Were these things carried out by that organisation or by the contra-guerrillas?", and the more actions there are like that, the worse the damage. A clear sign of the scale of this damage is that the question: "Who actually did that?" is now asked about a lot of actions, and what is worse, in many cases this question cannot be answered. With the result that you learn that "an action" has happened, but it cannot be clearly said if revolutionaries or counterrevolutionaries did it, or you say, this action can only have been a counterrevolutionary one, but you then learn the responsibility for it was claimed by Kurdish nationalists. An "action" was carried out, and it was called a "contra action" in the press of the nationalists, but then you see who did it, and it is none other than those who said the action was a contra action.

Since the actions of "contras" und the actions "which serve the contras" appear similar in the way they are carried out, this similarity also extends to their the results they bring. And these results achieve a dimension which goes further than the practice of those who turned an incorrect line of action into a something permanent. Today they have reached this dimension. And this does great damage to ties with the people.

WHY DO CONTRA-GUERRILLAS CARRY OUT ACTIONS, AND HOW?

About the "doctrines and theory" of the CIA, which is the organisation of the contra-guerrillas on the world scale and which was responsible for creating this kind of organisation, much has been written by CIA specialists about how to organise them. We can nonetheless summarise certain points concerning how the contra-guerrilla organisation and politics are organised and implemented.

At the start of the 1950s in a report that was prepared by the spokesman of the American monopolies in the Rockefeller group, the following was said:

"To maintain the security of both our own state and also the other non-communist states of the world, we think it necessary to provide armed assistance to friendly governments und regimes which are threatened by local forces and currents. This necessary military intervention does not accord with classical military strategy, nor does it resemble traditional diplomatic intervention.

This military intervention has a form and character of its own." [1]

The contra-guerrilla organisations are a result of the needs felt by the world monopolies. This military intervention, which "does not accord with classical-military strategies, nor with the rules of diplomacy", was carried out through different organisations, like Gladio, special warfare units, death squads and civil fascist movements.

These were generally financed by the USA. The US Secretary of Defense McNamara had the following to say on this theme:

"... The basic aim which we followed in the aid we granted, is, to help in training the indigenous-military and semi-military forces which have the ability to create the required internal security in cooperation with the police and other security forces in the areas where it is needed." [2]

Great, so what will these organisations do? To this question, whose answer we had a good idea about anyway, a CIA specialist, described as a "technician of secret warfare", supplied the following answer:

"Every kind of sabotage, terror, organised gangs, the destruction of the targeted nations in various ways. These tactics can be changed according to need and circumstance and can be employed against the nations in the red bloc in the form of an attack, and in allied and neutral countries in a defensive manner. Although the "good" sides of many adventures we undertake can be made known to public opinion, the "dirty" sides can be either kept secret or in the cases where the "dirty acts" come to light, they can be denied in that non-American agents were used who were not trained under strict American discipline." [3]For example this was done with the OPERATIONS TO COMBAT UPRISINGS and Operational Order FM. 31/16, which was issued by the oligarchy in Turkey under the direction of the General Staff , and was concretised even further (this kind of ordinance was written by the CIA and translated and implemented in all neocolonies). The special warfare units implemented the matters, such as "Operations-Ambushes-Terror-Torture-Hostage-Taking-Demagogy", which are prescribed in this ordinance.

The revolution in Turkey is damaged just as much by these actions, which "serve the contras", as by the actions of the "contras" themselves. When one moves away from socialism, independence, revolutionary politics and closer to pragmatism, bourgeois politics and manoeuvres acceptable to the regime, action of the kind increased in number which left revolutionaries wondering: "Were these things carried out by that organisation or by the contra-guerrillas?", and the more actions there are like that, the worse the damage.

The aim is clear, the national und revolutionary movements in the neocolonies must be kept down. That is the essence of things. Of course at this point the main thing is the detruction of the organisations conducting an armed struggle. All strategies of imperialism have been based upon the threat to themselves emanating from the armed struggle. "With regard to national liberation movements, the nationalists who have resorted to arms must be destroyed through guerrilla methods. They have sealed their own fate by resorting to arms, even if they were motivated by anti-communist ideas when they set out on this road." [4]

For this reason the psychological war of the contra-guerrillas and provocations have chiefly been concentrated on the armed struggle. In the provocations which have especially targeted the people and the intellectuals, the general aim has really been to neutralise the armed struggle. The contra-guerrillas have also pursued tactical aims at certain times. They have pursued these aims in various ways, expressing them like this: "With these laws and constitution, the country cannot be governed", "Calm is what we are seeking", "The only issue is one of survival", "To show that the rebels are enemies of the people", "To prove that they are a threat to life and property.".

What actions were provocations?

The purposes and methods of the CIA contra-guerrilla organisation make this clear enough. The provocations appear to be have no purpose in form, but the aim is to make it look that way. They appear to be aimed at intellectuals, but the real target is the people's movement. Sometimes they are aimed directly against the people, the aim is the terrorising of the people. The provocations try to draw the people's movement and the revolutionaries onto ground they are not prepared for or do not want. There are many examples of this in the practice of the contra-guerrillas of Turkey.

The first actions of the contra-guerrillas who had been brought into action for this purpose, took place at the start of the 1970s. That is the period when the armed struggle came on the agenda. The armed struggle was just star-

ting. The contra-guerrillas quickly got into action, in order to blacken the name of the armed struggle which was at just starting.

Contra-guerrilla actions followed one after another. The Palace of Culture was set on fire. The ship called the Marmara was sunk at sea. Bombs were planted in the car ferry Eminönü, the freighter Kastamonu, and Sirkeci railway station, and sabotage was carried out. The chosen targets were ones used by the people or were targets which it was hard to understand why anyone would choose them. Who could possibly have anything against the Palace of Culture! Or public opinion could ask, "What could they possibly want with the ship?". But when the revolutionaries were blamed for these actions, it also became clear why these targets were picked. Someone wanted to tell the people, "Yes, the anarchists do such things."

Neither then or later were there investigations of these acts of sabotage. Contra-guerrillas tried to lay them at the door of the revolutionaries. The press took on this task; the sabotage was described with headlines like "The anarchists have sunk a ship" and so on.

The aim was to creat doubts among the masses about the revolutionary movement, which was gradually establishing a base among the masses, and about its armed actions, which it was reckoned would soon increase in scale. It was hoped to even spark reactions against it among the masses. The oligarchy prepared the ground for the demagogy of "anarchy and terror", with these contra-actions of the 1970s.

1977-80 are the years in which contra actions took the form of massacres directed at the "masses"; almost all contra actions aimed at carrying out provocations and sullying the name of the revolutionaries, were carried out by the civil fascist movement. In this way the oligarchy, in an atmosphere of massive civil fascist terror, was able to some degree to project an image of "anarchy", and "clashes between the left and the right". From the viewpoint of the contra-guerrillas this was what was important. What was important was to blacken the aims of the revolutionary struggle. The oligarchy's moves at this point were not only successful with the masses, but also with the petite bourgeoisie and certain revisionist, reformist political movements they were successful and effective.

In this period there were two main kinds of contra-action which arose: the first was the murders, which the oligarchy aimed at intellectuals who the public knew as "leftists" and "democrats", like Abdi Ipekci, Vavit Orhan Tütengil and Ümit Yasar Doganay; the second kind were shootings when cafes, bus stops and people leaving schools and factories to mark a holiday would all be sprayed with bullets. For the contra-guerrillas and the oligarchy these actions served several purposes. They intimidated the people, they pushed back the revolutionaries, they strengthened demagogy about "anarchic terror" and laid the basis for a state of emergency, new repressive laws and a junta to be accepted among the people, to distance the masses from aims and the nature of the revolutionary struggle and the class struggle, to sully the reputation of the revolutionary struggle and so on.

At the time the press and the indictments of the courts in the state of emergency persisted intrying to lay the blame for actions like machine-gunning cafes at the door of the revolutionaries. Although all actions of this kind were carried out by fascists, this kind of tactic was favoured by the contra-guerrillas as a way of obscuring the aims and the forms of revolutionary actions. This is the method for bringing the people and the revolutionaries into conflict with one another. For the actions were directed against the people. The words in the indictment against Devrimci Sol are really expressive as to this aim:

"... Total unrest among the people, efforts to bring the country under the hegemony of another hostile country by creating an atmosphere in the country in which people could not live, this was the objective of this organisation.. (Hakliyiz Kazanacagiz [1], page 41)

But before this the contra tactic in the heat of this struggle sought to draw the revolutionaries into these forms of action.While trying to lay these actions at the door of the revolutionaries who did not carry them out and also did not agree with them, massive terror was employed to try and get the revolutionaries to employ the same methods. This tactic of the contras largely failed. Although on the left there were tendencies at the time which reacted to the pressure with "If they do it, so should we and we should also spray targets with gunfire" and which preferred easy methods of action, the principled practice of Devrimci Sol was the main obstacle, for it conducted the armed struggle against the fascist terror at the highest level. They could not associate revolutionaries with the murder of intellectuals nor with mass murders - on the contrary, in such cases and in such actions it was the fascists the public first thought about. But both the spread of violence among the left against one another as well as the failure of some groups to pay sufficient attention to the nature of their own actions, led to a situation that accusations against the left met with a degree of credibility at the time.

THE AIM IS PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

At the end of the 1980s the actual aims of the contra-guerrillas sought to obscure the nature of revolutionary violence and people's justice; Because the armed struggle was nearly liquidated within about six months after the junta took power there were not many contra actions in this period. The ideological and demagogic propaganda activities und psychological warfare of the contra-guerrillas aimed at sullying the name of the revolutionaries was incresingly concentrated in the press and television, but this mainly took the form of a propaganda campaign. To force the revolutionaries in the prisons to surrender and to broadcast this to public opinion was the actual policy of the oligarchy and the area the contra-guerrillas concentrated on was the prisons. At the end of the 1980s the contra actions started up agains and then

were carried out on a massive scale. The end of the 1980s were when the revolutionary struggle again picked up strength. It was a matter of the struggle which spread throughout the land, besides the guerilla war in Kurdistan.

The oligarchy launched armed attacks on demonstrators on May 1, 1989, in an effort to stop the struggle from developing. A flurry of shots were fired at Devrimci Sol Gücler (Revolutionary Left Forces) and Mehmet Akif Dalci was murdered. But now things were different. Those who for years had carried out every form of repression and thought they would be able to continue undisturbed, discovered that they were wrong.

A short time afterwards the murderer of Mehmet Akif Dalci, Kazim Cakmakci was punished by our organisation. This was the first punishment action carried out in a long time. It had a significant effect on various circles. The significance of this action was not that a murderer was punished, but that it was an expression of the revolutionary struggle, which was again on a path based on the armed struggle.

So the contra-guerrillas also began to resume their activities and shortly after the punishment action against the murderer-policeman, Prof. Muammer Aksoy was murdered. This contra action in many respects resembled the murders before the September 12 military coup of Bedri Karafalcioglu, Cavit Orhan Tütengil and Abdi Ipekci.

The contra-guerrillas target petit bourgeois intellectuals, so as to achieve their first overt successes in influencing that milieu. And just as before September 12, after the murder of Muammer Aksoy the reformist left and intellectuals all shouted, "provocation", "terrorism". But what they mean when they talk of provocations and terror is not the murder of Muammer Aksoy, but the development of the revolutionary struggle. With their action the contra-guerrillas told the pettit bourgeois circles and the part of the left that favoured the status quo that : if the revolutionary struggle and the people's violence develops, such things will happen and you will also be disturbed by them" and called on them to oppose the revolutionary struggle. To oppose people's violence by shouting about provocations means in reality to obey the calls of the contra-guerrillas . And what a pity that the intellectuals and pro-system left in our country have often fallen for this game.

That these circles "described revolutionary actions as "terrorism" was not new. After it began to use weapons in 1971 the revolutionary movement has often been in this position up to today. Since March 12, 1971, 1975-80 and September 12 the same thing was always said, and even the words were the same, words like 'anarchy, terror' 'the junta will come' and so on...."

But it was very clear: the oligarchy followed the tactic that wherever the revolutionary struggle developed, its organisations like death squads, special warfare units and civil fascist groups unleashed provocations, these should be blamed on the revolutionaries, chaos should be created with indiscriminate bombing and through murdering prominent people the tactic of encouraging "the psychology of being against violence" should be created. In a sense they wanted to create the thought that "So, if the revolutionaries use violence, the rightists and the state will do the same, chaos will result and the rights we possess will also be restricted", and through this a mood hostile to the revolutionary movement should be created.

The oligarchy had some successes here. As indicated in the February 1990 issue of "Cˆzüm" ("Solution"): "Despite the fact that the reformist left and the intellectuals know the facts very well, they objectively supported the plans of fascism with inconsistent comments lacking in objectivity. As they became fearful and panicky because the oligarchy chose people like M. Aksoy as a target. They immediately began to ask questions like "Are we going back to the time before September 12?" and then began to anlyse the "preparations for a new Junta".

The actions of the contra-guerrillas continued with further provocations like the murder of Cetin Emec (a well-known journalist from the daily "Hürriyet"), and a bomb attack on the grave of Sedat Simavi (the founder of "Hürriyet".).

PRINCIPLED ACTIONS DESTROY THE PROVOCATIONS

The games of the contra-guerrilla were rendered futile; for they were confronted with a line of action, which made it a principle not to harm the people and rejected pragmatism and the line of taking the easy route in everything: The actions of the contra-guerillas at the time could not awaken the desired response among the masses, however much the left and the intellectuals yelled about "provocations". For the hundreds of armed and unarmed actions of Devrimci Sol which came one after the other were clear and unambiguous.

It is a well-known truth: The rulers labour to make their own violence appear legitimate and condemn the violence of the oppressed.

Revolutionary actions on the other hand must bring about the opposite. The revolutionary actions must develop in such a way that the historic justice and legitimacy of violence by the oppressed is not obscured, but on the contrary is illuminated.

For the revolutionaries, action is a "means". But those who abandon historic justice and und legitimacy and principles and lose the viewpoint of their class, will gradually come to carry out actions not as the continuation of politics by other means but as an end in themselves. The relationship between arms and politics will disappear. And then arms will start to govern the politics, instead of politics governing the use of arms. In the heads of the fighters and the cadres, actions will become an end in themselves. What results from that is that actions are understood as having to be carried out at whatever cost, whatever the behaviour of the enemy, to reply to him in the same form. From this point on all purpose has been lost. If the purpose of the revolutionary action is forgotten, to organise the masses and win them to the revolution, if the principles of the re-

volutionary actions, which are meant to secure these objectives, are pushed to one side, then it is no longer possible to achieve a revolutionary result but on the contrary, even what has already been achieved will be lost.

Since the practice of Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C had developed from such a revolutionary viewpoint, the increase in contra actions which happened in parallel to the armed struggle of 1989-90 were not able to have an effect. On the contrary, the revolutionary line created trust among the people and even forced the enemy to confess to things which were the opposite of its intentions. For example with regard to a report in a newspaper, "The plans for natural gas are in the hands of Devrimci Sol", which was supposed to make the people panic and strengthen the demagogy of anarchic terror, the MIT security service was compelled to declare that "Devrimci Sol does not carry out actions that harm the people." In the face of the clarity and unambiguity about the way Devrimci Sol claims responsibility for all its actions, the actions of the contras were laid at their own door instead of Devrimci Sol being blamed for them.

LACK OF PRINCIPLE PREPARES THE GROUND FOR PROVOCATIONS

The policy of the contra-guerrillas aimed to push people to the right, encourage pragmatism and integrate the left into the regime and it achieved the result it sought: The failure of the provocations by the contra-guerrillas, especially some which were directed against our armed struggle, does not of course mean that they gave up contra actions. As long as contra attacks exert influence on the petit bourgeois circles, the opportunists who are for the status quo and the reformists, who are on the road towards a legal party and oppose the armed struggle, contra actions will be continued. But these actions could not achieve more than that. Until the "actions which serve the interests of the contras" visibly increased in number.

The arson attack against the Cetinkaya department store in Istanbul-Bakirkˆy and the death of 11 persons in the action was almost a turning point in this respect. While contra-guerillas used this opportunity to concentrate their contra actions, the Kurdish nationalist movement, instead of rendering an account for this action and practising self-criticism, continued the same line of action in different forms and theorised it, which led in the end to a situation in which the actions of the contra-guerrillas and the actions which merely were of service to them were hard to distinguish from each other.

For the revolutionaries, action is a "means". But those who abandon historic justice and und legitimacy and principles and lose the viewpoint of their class, will gradually come to carry out actions not as the continuation of politics by other means but as an end in themselves. The relationship between arms and politics will disappear.

The Cetinkaya action was one which crudely violated the principles of revolutionary action. And therefore they did not achieve a revolutionary result, on the contrary they triggered off a hostile reaction among the people. And in the end a situation arose, especially in the big cities like Istanbul, where the Kurds could not express their identity openly.

This line, in the first days when its negative consequences were immediately and clearly visible, was criticised by us right at the beginning and we warned the Kurdish nationalist movement: In the face of the "dirty war" of the enemy, a war which knows no rules and uses every kind of method, revolutionary actions cannot be emotional, reactive and motivated by nothing but revenge, since the logic of that is to seek revenge at all costs, no matter what. In such situations violence loses its property of being a means and becomes an end in itself... If the revolutionary line and counterrevolutionary provocations are not separated by a Chinese Wall, the revolutionary begins to lose ist clarity. Violence which does not achieve its aim ends up striking at itself. A revolutionary attitude must make this its guiding principle." (Mücadele, January 15, 1992, s. 36)

It was an action, which ended by killing 11 people und injuring many more, people who werenot particularly the target and were there by chance. The purpose of such an attack was perhaps something else but it clearly acquired a character that was obviously directed against the people. While the contra-guerrilla actions were being concentrated and were seeking to obscure the people's consciousness, for the contras this action was a gift.The oligarchy concentrated all its institutions on this event. While the bourgeois press began to write headlines like "We want revenge", the contra organisations sproutedlike mushrooms under names like "Hizbullah" or "the Kemalist Military-Police Organisation" und began to carry out new provocations.

The harm done could have been reduced to a minimum if a responsible accounting had been given. But things developed differently and the Kurdish national movement sought to give a theoretical justifiation for its action. So the democrats, revolutionaries, those who criticised the action were themselves reproached with "Where were you when the Kurdish villages were being burned," in an effort to silence them. But loic is being turned on its head here.

The revolutionaries cannot fight with the methods of the counterrevolution.If they do, their different motivation will also be eliminated, it will not be clear who did what and why and what will be left will be chaos and anarchy. Which is exactly what the contras want.

The line which extended from Cetinkaya to Basbaglar; on July 2, 1993 a fascist-reactionary group under the

protection of the oligarchy carried out a massacre in Sivas in which dozens of demokratic, progressive people were burned alive. A little after this massacre, there followed another massacre in Basbaglar, a village inhabited by Turks following the Sunni branch of Islam.

For the revolutionary, demokratic public there was no doubt that this massacre was done by contra-guerrillas.

At the time, we did not hesitate to write the following: This massacre was done by those who seek to stir up the peoples against each other and sharpen contradicitons between religions and nationalities.

While the oligarchy pursues the tactic of stirring the peoples up againast each other, this kind of massacre can only be the work of the oligarchy. The action in Basbaglar is undoubtedly a provocation... After this action the state spent days spreading propaganda in the media, in mosques, city neighbourhoods, and workplaces that Sunnis had been murdered by Alevis and revolutionaries and the areas inhabited by Sunnis had been attacked.

Even if it is not on the level of a massacre, the attacks against Sunni Turk villages in Erzincan and Dersim have been going on for a while... The people must be told that these are not the acts of revolutionaries and they can have no interest in them. Only the oligarchy can have an interest. Revolutionaries never do this kind of thing and do not agree with it." (Mücadele, 4 September 1993)

But reality was different.

It later emerged that the PKK had done it.

At the time we wrote the following:

" The revolutionaries do not seek to broaden the counterrevolutionary front, but rather to reduce it. From the standpoint of classes they choose their tactics and aims for their actions carefully, to draw all classes and social layers, which have contradictions with imperialism and the oligarchy into the revolutionary front. By doing this, the founders of the future people's power show the people the difference between fascist-bourgeois justice and revolutionary justice without any ambiguity being present. In this sense every action of the revolutionaries and their attitude must reflect the conception of those who promise the people revolutionary people's power. Naturally anything that uses the same tactics as the oligarchy or which fails to draw a clear line between revolutionary justice and bourgeois justice, all behaviour and attitudes like that which are unclear are useful to the oligarchy and make revolutionary justice questionable."

The principles of revolutionary actions are clear. They must be just, they must strike at the enemy who deserves to be struck. That is the class basis of revolutionary action. The action not based on this is open to distortions, provocations and demagogy.

This happened. It does not matter whether they were following a direct order or not, the line that was followed and the narrow horizons of nationalism are the actual basis for such actions. If this basis is not dealt with, these actions will also continue. They have continued and are still going on.

At the point, on the line stretching from Cetinkaya to Basbaglar, all this was theorised, all this was extended and it went from threats such as, we will bomb Kapalicarci, all the way to actions such as bomb attacks on trains and railway stations.

THE AIMS OF THE ARMED ACTIONS MUST BE CLEAR AND NOTHING MAY OBSCURE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE

"Total" actions against teachers, or to go to a mine and kill the people there are actions that can appear at any moment as a result of choosing the politics of pragmatism, crude nationalism, always taking the easy road and abandoning revolutionary principles in actions, principles such as not harming the people, sending a clear message and being comprehensible. It may be that such "total" actions sometimes have "short-term results", but these results will be counterproductive after a while. But these do not only have negative consequences for those who carry them out, but rather for all revolutionaries and all revolutionary actions.

The principles of revolutionary actions are clear. They must be just, they must strike at the enemy who deserves to be struck. That is the class basis of revolutionary action. The action not based on this is open to distortions, provocations and demagogy. The contra-guerrillas will also base their own tactics on these mistakes, on this basis they will find ways of influencing the broad masses.

Our actions must distinguish friend from enemy, they must make it clear to the masses, that it is Fascism itself which threatens the life and property of the people, the aims of the actions must be clear to the people. Of course these are the actually the ABC of revolutionary action and should be known to all. But the question is the politics which direct the actions. Just like reformism, which leads its supporters to become involved in actions that are acceptable for the regime, degenerated and disgraceful, crude nationalism and pragmatism give rise to such results. Apart from our criticism, warnings and suggestions, in relation to concepts which are far removed from a revolutionary line of action, we would like to add the following: the 28-year practice of the Party-Front in relation to actions is for all the left, with its rules, principles, form and content a real example of a purity very seldom to be found.

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[1] quoted from Emin Deger, "CIA, the contra-guerrillas and Turkey, page 191

[2] same work, p. 200

[3] same work, p. 210

[4] same work, p. 192

"1000 operations" and gangs

"We have carried out 1000 operations." This sentence was uttered by the former minister, one of the chiefs of the contra-guerllas, Mehmet Agar. After the Susurluk accident, in order to save the rotten fascist regime, Agar revealed the 1000 "operations" carried out by the state against the people and revoutionaries. Of course, the "operations" he spoke of were noumerous massacres, murders, disappeareances, acts of savotage and provocations.

In the last issue we published the crimes of the state against the people from the Republic of Turkey's foundation until 1971. In this issue we will publish the crimes of the contra-guerrilla. up to the 1980s.

The Contra-Guerrillas Step up Efforts to Organise Fascist Bandits

In a report of the year 1971, advice was given to Alparslan Türkes, the leader of the fascist MHP (Nationalist Action Party), on how to extend his organisation in big cities, and especially in Istanbul:

"Associations that have already been established, like Ülkü Ocaklari (Idealist Hearths, associations of the fascist Grey Wolves), Ülkü Sen and Ülkücü Isciler Birligi shall be extended and led by the chairman of the Party."

"People who believed in the legitimacy of the organisation were sought out everywhere in Turkey and they were given tasks to perform which were generally to be done secretly." "To take the pressure of the growing struggle against hostile organisations off the (fascist) students, modern and legitimate methods should be used under the direction of retired officers und police who should organise the defence forces and who are known only to the city chairmen (of the MHP)."

This is no different from the advice that the CIA gives in its contra-guerrilla book on how to organise more effectively among the civilian population.

After that, preparations were made and the Ülkü Ocagi Dernegi was formed again in April 1974.

Immediately the fascist attacks increased in number.The number of associations was increased in the year 1976 to 600. During a search of the fascist MHP headquarters, the secret organizing plan of the Party was found, which was drawn from the general staff's contra-guerrilla book "Training instructions for combating irregular forces". The plan included information about how to organize against communists and instructions on carrying out sabotage actions.

The high-ranking officer, Mehmet Alanyuva, who worked for both the MHP and the Special Warfare Department, had given them the plan.

IYÖKD - The Association of Students Studying in Istanbul - is Founded; the Attacks of the Fascists Begin

The defeats and immorality resulting from the March 12, 1971 junta were first overcome by young people.

The resistance in Kizildere created great sympathy and revolutionary potential in the whole country, especially among the youth. At the end of 1973 the struggle again intensified. The IYÖKD association, which was founded at the end of 1973 by sympathizers of Dev-Genc and some other political groups, became a mass organisation and the central organisation of youth.

Its first actions were carried out to demand the nationalisation of the private schools and university faculties.

The contra-guerrillas were not slow to react against the rise in the struggle of the revolutionary youth.

At that time the contra-guerrillas preferred to make use of the civil fascists. After those first actions the fascist attacks increased. By occupying high schools,and launching attacks on the boycotts, the fascists tried to crush the struggle of the revolutionaries in its infancy. At the same time in Ankara, the de-

mocratic high school association ADYÖD was founded. The existence of that association did not last long. The attacks of the fascists were continuously intensified. They were turned into armed struggle.

The police took the flight of students into the association after an armed clash with the fascists as an opportunity to arrest 163 students. After that the association was closed in December 1974, allegedly because of the stand it took with regard to the intervention in Cyprus.

During the MC (Nationalist Front) Government the Contra-Guerrilla Attacks are Institutionalised

After the CHP-MSP coalition government was dissolved on September 18, 1974 and a government supposedly above parties was formed on November 16, 1974, headed by Sadi Irnak, the fascist attacks spread over a wider area.

Sahin Aydin, a member of the IYÖKD administration, was knifed to death by fascists in front of the Istanbul architectural and engineering academy in December 1973.

On January 23, 1974 Kerim Yaman, an engineer at the Istanbul Vatan firm was killed in a fascist attack. On April 24 Abdi Gönem was killed in the Istanbul University student dormitory, on April 27 Mehmet Toprak was killed in Koca, and on May 13 in Sivas the teacher Hüseyin Esen, a member of the TÖB-DER - the Revolutionary Teacher's Association - was killed.

The massacres and attacks were not just aimed at revolutionary students, but also at revolutionaries and democrats from all sections of the population.

In 1974 in different towns, the workers Ümit Tok, Mehmet Filiz, Yusuf Vehbi Yilmaz and Ibrahim Kocakarin were killed in fascist attacks.

On 23 February 1975, anger among Sunni Muslim people was whipped up with the assertion that "mosques and prayer houses will be set on fire". This was an attempt to bring about a massacre of "communists" and "Alevis". In the resulting clashes which spread to small villages, a 13-year-old boy was killed and 70 people injured.The shops of Alevis and members of the social democratic CHP were blown up.

In the time of the first MC government, the coalition between AP, MSP, MHP and CGP (all right-wing Turkish nationalist parties), under Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, the atmosphere was ripe for fascist attacks and attempts to build their organisations.

At the 12th party congress of the MHP, on May 19, 1975, the fascist leader Alparslan Türkes marked the heightening of terror against the people as follows: "I may bring you the message that events are running in favour of the Turkish nationalists. We have reached the point of taking action, we have even crossed it. (...) We will pull off the heads of the traitors and their instigators who have used the designation 'the Turkish people' for themselves."

As he indicated, the fascist attacks had been stepped up. Supported by police and soldiers, the fascists raided and occupied student flats and progressive associations. After those attacks, the police arrested the revolutionary and democratic students and with this, fascist terror greatly escalated.

The number of persons killed in fascist attacks in January 1976 was 22. Between February and May 25 persons were killed. In that period fascist terror was spread from big cities to the whole of Anatolia. Of the 42 killed between June and September, 31 were killed outside the major cities. In December 1976 the number of murdered persons was 27. Of 116 people killed in 1976, only 18 were fascists or radical rightists. And of those 18, two were fascists who were punished by their own people for deviation and another two died in accidents. In the period of the second MC government from July 21, 1977, the fascist terror and organisational recruitment outstripped the terror under the the first MC government. In the five months of the second MC government, more than 100 people were murdered. Fascist terror took the form of sudden raids on neighbourhoods and spraying bullets at people standing at bus stops or sitting in restaurants. This was an attempt to increase the state of terror and make the people surrender.

Fascist Attempts to Organise in the Education System

Value was placed on having the education system dominated by fascists.

There were two reasons for this: first, to neutralise the opposition of young people who play a major role in society, and to weaken their potential; secondly, to make youth tractable and willing to surrender to the fascist regime.

Although the Minister of Education, Ali Naili Erdem belonged to the AP, in personnel matters he agreed with the MHP.

Within seven months of the MC government coming to power, seven teachers were killed in fascist attacks, 18 arrested, 14 injured and 5,000 were illegally transferred elsewhere in the country.

While the TÖB-DER association, in which revolutionary democratic teachers were organized, was closed down several times, the Ülkü Der (Idealist Association) in which fascist teachers were organized with the support of the state, increased the number of its branches between 1975 and 1976 from 160 to 350. Teachers were forced to be members of the Idealist Association. In 1976 fascists were able to influence enrolment at teachers' training colleges by subjecting candidates to "verbal examination" of their political opinions. In this period, 2,000 students were expelled from teacher training colleges..

The national head of the teacher training colleges, the contra-guerrilla chief Ayvaz Gökdemir, expressed himself at a seminar in 1976 as follows:

"All staff of the colleges, from the director to the lowest ranking janitor, should be nationalists. In none of the colleges should people who think differently be employed. All of them should belong to us. In this matter we have to be severe, not tolerant. The more we follow the military principle in administering the people, the more we will solve our problems. To free the people, we will have to cut off some heads..."

In other Institutions

Although the MHP was the third party in the MC coalition government, the deputy prime minister and the one responsible for security matters was Türkes, who, from time to time chaired the National Security Council and cooperated with the police, and had more influence in nominating personnel.

Several high-ranking officials in the ministries came from the MHP and the MSP (National Salvation Party, right-wing and Islamist, the ancestor of the Refah Party).

Through an edict of the Minister of the Interior it was declared that graduates of middle school (in other words, people who left school at 14 or 15) can become police officers before performing military service, so that those who graduated from Koranic (religious) schools and members of the idealist associations could become policemen. Police officers who were democratic or progressive were either suspended from duty, given unimportant tasks or replaced. Fascist police officers and commissioners were appointed to the most important tasks. A fascist arrested by mistake would be released immediately.This was the result of fascist personnel organising in the police force.

During the time in office of the second MC government, fascists recruited in the Trade Ministry, whose minister, Agah Oktay Güner, belonged to the MHP, and in the Customs Ministry, whose minister, the leading fascist Gün Sazan belonged to the MHP too.

Thirty MHP supporters, who were installed as controllers in the Customs Ministry, used their positions as a cover to train party members throughout Turkey. They held meetings and seminars in the whole country on "theoretical and practical matters" and educated hundred of fascists, like Abdullah Catli, Haluk Kirci, Ibrahim Ciftci, Mehmet Ali Agca, Ferhat Tüysüz, Veli Can Oduncu, Cengiz Ayhan, as cadres.

Some of them, Muhsin Yazicioglu, Namik Kemal Zeybek, Türkmen Onur, Ramiz Ongur, Lokman Abbasoglu, Muzaffer Sahin, Mehmet Sakarya, Seyfi Aydin, Riza Müftüoglu, Mustafa Mit and others, act as mediators between Türkes and local organisations.

In the army, the Special Warfare Department increased its influence and power and took the army under control. Through its own secret service it kept an eye on all the personnel in the army. It played a major role in promotions and sackings in the army.

MIT - The national intelligence service - was recruited only from people who had worked in the Special Warfare Department.

DGM - State-Security-Court - Shall be Legalised

The DGM's status, which was installed at the end of the March 12, 1971 coup, should have been abolished according to a resolution by the Constitutional Defence Court.

A special law was made so it could remain. The MC government made special efforts to keep the DGM in existence.

The CGP (Republican Confidence Party) wanted to introduce paragraph 163, but the MSP rejected this. Because of the lack of unanimity in the coalition government, the closing down of the DGM could not be carried through.

Massacre on Mayday 1997

The May Day celebrations, which had been organised both in 1975 and 1976 by the DISK - the Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation - and in which 100,000 people took part in 1976, were likely to attract

even more people in 1977.

The increase in the people's opposition and its politicisation, its connection with revolutionary forces and its ability to give the people of all classes a sense of their own power, were intolerable to the contra-guerillas.

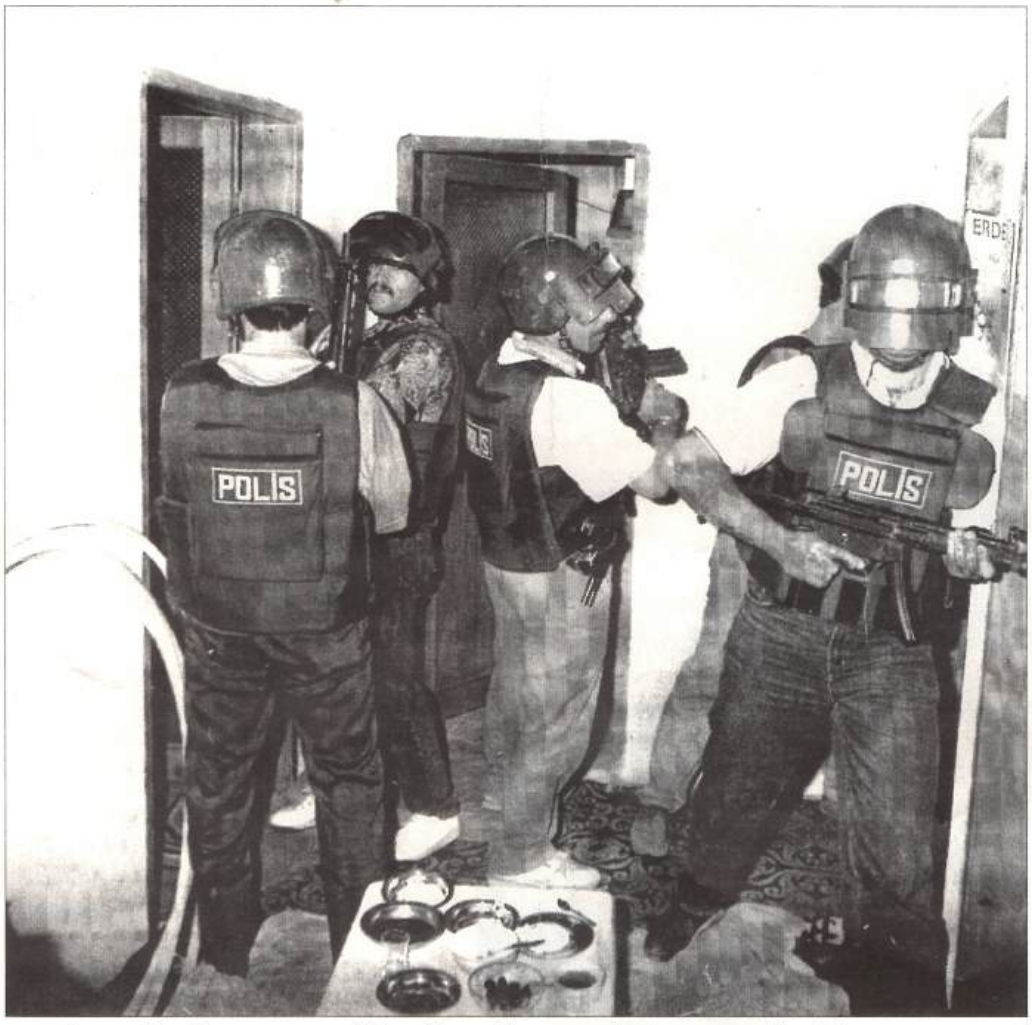
Because fascism was not able to mobilise the people, it was trying to find a solution in massacre, terror and making the people passive. This massacre was an experiment for the contra-guerillas: if the result of that massacre was successful, it could continue working in that way. Some good conclusions could be drawn from it.Although the revolutionary forces could reveal the violence as a provocations, the contra-guerrillas succeeded in confusing the people and making them fearful. In the 1977 May Day, 500,000 people participated, in 1978 it was only 200,000.

The Hotel Intercontinental, from which shots were fired at the people on May 1, belonged to the ITT company, which financed the coup against Allende in Chile and was on good terms with the CIA.

Three days before May Day the hotel was emptied of guests and no reservations were accepted. But on May 1 a group of foreigners entered the hotel. Later the hotel was taken over by a company and its name was changed to "Marmara Hotel".

Although at the time of the massacre all the surrounding streets were under police control, shots were fired from a white Renault car which then fled the scene and was never found.

A photo of police officers who fired into the crowd from the water supply office, and a recording tape on which radio messages could be noted, were given to a court investigating inquiry. Both items of evidence disappeared. In the affair two men were implicated. One of those was Demirel's man and a contra-guerrilla chief, Orhan Bakircioglu, who earlier has been state minister, the other one was a member of MIT and afterwards a mafia lawyer, Necdet Kücük Taskiner.



The Massacre of March 16 in the University of Istanbul and the New Strategy of the Contra-Guerrillas

The massacre, in which seven revolutionary democratic students lost their lives and hundreds were injured, was the start of a new contra-guerrilla strategy.

With this strategy the contra-guerrillas orientated themselves towards new aims. One of these was the Maras massacre and its aftermath.

Fascist terror was organized well, was centrally controlled and employed systematically. For that of course there were reasons. Through Dev-Genc a campaign against the fascist occupiers of schools and colleges had begun. The anti-fascist struggle was stepped up and in several faculties the fascist terror was halted. The fascists did not expect the reaction they received in the universities, and the fascist plan was destroyed as a result. To win back the control it was losing in the university faculties and to put a stop to the rising struggle, it reacted with an even bigger bloodbath. On the day of the massacre Abdullah Catli was seen in Istanbul.The explosive that was used for the massacre was procured by him.

In a confession the MHP supporter Ali Yural said the following: "Abdullah received a half full chest of TNT, which was produced by the army, from the MHP supporter and officer Mehmet Ali Ceviker." Afterwards it was distributed in Istanbul and Ankara. It was also used in the March 16 massacre. One week before the plan for a massacre was leaked to the police, but nothing was done.

The chief of police, who was responsible then for the police based in the universities employed - police, the murderer Resat Altayli, rose high in the force af-

terwards. The massacre was carried out before the eyes of the police, who stood at the outside door, but nevertheless the murderers were able to escape. One of the perpetrators was a police officer. Although the name of those police officer was discovered, it was never discovered where this policeman was based. After the massacre another name emerged, Oktay Engin, a member of the MIT intelligence service. In 1956 he had placed a bomb in the birthplace of Atatürk in Salonika, Greece, which showed he had a track record as a provocateur.

Massacres Were Carried Out in City Neighbourhoods

From 1977 the revolutionaries built up good relations with the population in big city neighbourhoods, especially in Istanbul.

These areas were freed from fascist repression and turned into resistance fortresses in the course of time. This was an obstacle to the state's role as an occupying power oppressing its own people. Therefore it was not without good reason that the state refused to make a distinction between revolutionaries and democrats. It was the state's desire to force the people to their knees and prevent them from causing it any trouble. So in the period before the September 12 coup, dozens of massacres were carried out. Some of them, which the people will never forget, are:

October 8, 1978: seven members of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP, a left-reformist party which tended to favour the Soviet Union) in Ankara/Bahcelievler were killed by torture, some were strangled and others shot. Abdullah Catli planned and participated in carrying out the killings. Amongst those who took part was Haluk Kirci.

On August 10, 1978, a cafe was fired on. Fourteen people were wounded. The perpetrators, the MHP member Mustafa Pehlivanoglu and Ali Yurtaslan, stated that the deed was planned by Abdullah Catli and he gave the order to carry it out. Catli was arrested with Pehlivanoglu on August 25. Muhsin Yazicioglu succeeded in having him released. The other participant who had talked about the attack was punished.

In October 1978, fascists killed four students.

On May 16, 1979 a coffeehouse was raided in Ankara. People were forced to lie on the floor and then shot. Six people were killed.

On November 28, 1979 contra-guerrillas shot dead six people in a coffeehouse in Kayseri.

On December 16, 1979 a coffeehouse favoured by revolutionary democratic students was bombed and five people were killed.

The Lawyer Dogan Öz was Murdered, Intellectuals, Writers and Univerity Lecturers are Targeted

After the March 16 massacre, on March 24, 1978 the deputy state attorney for Ankara, Dogan Öz, was murdered. He was a deliberately chosen target. He had instituted court proceedings against the Idealist Hearths and at the start of March had authorised a search of a student hostel inhabited by fascists. A number of weapons were discovered there. In the course of his investigations he noted that the contra-guerrillas existed and in a report he had stated:

"...The aim is to destroy any hopes for democracy; instead a fascist system is to be placed on the agenda and put into practice... Military and civilian security services are behind all this work. The contra-guerrillas are subordinate to the Special Warfare Department (Özel Harp Dairesi). MIT and police of the Number One Precinct are deployed as civilian security force members. All these activities are guided by MHP members and cadres."

The murderer of Dogan Öz was Ibrahim Ciftci. At his trial before a court-martial, he was identified by witnesses and confessed to his guilt. He was sentenced to death three separate times. Each time, the highest military court did not recognise the decision of the court which tried him. The law of the contra-guerrillas takes such a form. Finally the court decided: "The murder of the state attorney Dogan Öz is an established fact. But we cannot appeal against the decision of the military court. The accused is released." With the murder of Dogan Öz, servants of the state were sent a message that the contra-guerrillas were more powerful than they were and they could attack anyone they wished.

The police chief of Adana, Cevat Yurdakul, was killed under similar circumstances. However, the list of targets was much broader. Besides anti-fascists, progressives and democrats, liberals, writers, lecturers and trade unionists prepared to make compromises were targetted by the fascists: indeed everyone who was not a fascist was at least potentially a target. The university lecturer Bedrettin Cömert, Professor Bedri Karafakioglu, Professor Cavit Orhan Tütengil, Professor Ümit Doganay, the lecturer Orhan Yavuz, Professor Dr Necdet Bulut, the lecturer Ümit Kaftancioglu, the journalist Abdi Ipekci and the DISK general secretary Kemal Türkler were all killed. The intention was for fascist terror to make itself felt among the masses.

The murderer of Bedrettin Cömert fled to Germany. The court which dealt with the case issued an arrest warrant for Abdullah Catli. Catli and Oral Celik played a major role in the escape from prison of Mehmet Ali Agca, who had murdered the journalist Abdi Ipekci. Although the responsible state officials declared that an escape was impossible without outside help, no proceedings were instituted. Celik returned and was acquitted. In another hearing in Malatya he was also acquitted because of the destruction of files and the absence of evidence.

Yilma Durak said after the September 12 coup that the person who murdered Orhan Tütengil was the president of the ÜGD Idealist (fascist) association, Recep Öztürk. He was exonerated and it was made possible for him to flee abroad.

The Kahramanmaras Massacre

It was not a new thing for the fascists to try and stir up religious hatred among Sunnis against the Alevis. This was attempted on several occasions in previous years. But the massacre of December 24, 1978 in Maras was different from anything previously experienced. Other attempts before had been lo-

cal and spontaneous but this was not the case here. This was planned and prepared in advance. Explosives were sent to the scene of the crimes by the retired army captain Ali Ceviker who was later caught with the same explosives.

After September 12, a search of the MHP central headquarters revealed plans and notes for the massacre which had been stored there. A further detail was that a CIA agent, Robert Alexander Peck, active in the US embassy who also had good ties with the MHP general secretary Necati Gültekin, had visited this area in the same year and checked it out. In a report given to the Interior Ministry, it was stated that the murderers who had taken part in the Bahcelievler massacres, Haluk Kirci, Ünal Agaoglu and Ahmet Ercüment Gedikli, the murderer of the DISK president, Kemal Türkler, had all stayed in Maras.

The Attempted Massacre in Corum

At the end of July, an attempt was made to carry out in Corum the scenarios which had already happened in Maras. Before the massacres, the CIA agent Peck had been in the area. In the summer of 1979 he came to Corum and held talks with the governor and the city chairmen of the AP, MHP und CHP. He made enquiries about the special characteristics of the area's people. Policemen who had been transferred to other cities following the events of May Day took part in the massacre.

The resistance of the people living in the Alevi area, who with the help of revolutionaries put up barricades, prevented a massacre which would have been a second Maras. After this failed attempt at a massacre by the contra-guerrillas, the high-ranking officer who on the orders of the governor tried but failed to break down the barricades by force was dismissed. By stirring up Sunnis against Alevis, Turks and Azeris against Kurds, with attempts to carry out massacres like in Maras, Corum, Sivas, Malatya, Elazig, Tokat, Erzurum, Mus and Kars, the contra-guerrillas tried to intimidate Alevis and communists. At the same time they tried to radicalise Sunnis and win them over. This was a contra-guerrilla tactic being put into practice.

The Contra-Guerrilla Death Squads

After the Kahramanmaras massacre, in 1979 Ecevit's government ordered a state of emergency in 13 cities. Under the state of emergency, with the help of the military they tried to terrorise the people. In order to make the state of emergency more solid, massacres and attacks were concentrated in cities where no state of emergency had been proclaimed. But in the cities in which there was a state of emergency, nothing happened in the way the fascists intended. The state of emergency could not prevent the revolutionary struggle, it was the fascists who lost strength. At the start of 1978 Devrimci Sol stepped up its struggle. To protect the lives of the population, a defensive approach was abandoned and the FTKSME[1] and the Armed Revolutionary Units began to attack the fascist movement. This caused other left groups to do the same, and the MHP began to get into difficulties. The MHP began to lose strength and had to go on the defensive.

In the same period the contra-guerrillas reformed their structure. Frequently the "death squads" made their presence felt under various names. Since fascism was losing strength and support in the struggle against the revolutionary movement, the contra-guerrillas began to form bands of professional killers. The death squads were formed to combat the armed struggle and the urban gu- In the anti-fascist struggle up to September 12, Devrimci Sol lost 100 martyrs. The number of people killed by the contra-guerrillas, who became more aggressive the more they lost strength, went into the thousands.

The Death Squads and the Mafia Work Together

From the beginning the death squads and organised crime were interwoven. These ties were revealed by some peoples' confessions. The MHP confessor, Ali Yurtaslan, said that after the Bahcelievler massacre, Abdullah Catli fled to Bulgaria. "After the massacre, Catli flew to Varna und worked with the Turkish mafia. I knew names of people like Abuzer Ugurlu and Oflu Ismail. These persons provided the MHP with weapons. If they wanted payment for the weapons, heroin was sent to them. The Grey Wolves were involved in the heroin trade and used the profits to buy guns. The Istanbul MHP organisation had ties with mafia groups which it concealed. I learned that Oflu Ismail gave donations to the MHP Istanbul branch. After Oflu Ismail fled, his brother-in-law Dondar Kilic came in his place. He also helped the MHP. It is claimed that Yasar Okuyan was trained by Oflu Ismail.

"I also learned that when he was in Istanbul, Catli built good links with counterfeiters. Yilmaz Durak, who before September 12 was called "leader of the Orient" and was Number Two in the MHP, told the police on November 30, 1980: "Recep Öztürk provided the organisation with weapons. He knew Cayirovaler Osman. He made promises to Recep about weapons. One day he phoned us. We met Celal Adan, then the Istanbul DYP chairman - and Ali Dogan in Sultanahmet. Recep Öztürk received more weapons from Cayirovaler Osman. The money to buy weapons was collected from party members and rich people in Istanbul."

A book, "Türkes on September 12" was written by Dr Selim Kaptanoglu, the physician of Turkes. "One day someone rang the doorbell of Türkes' house. This time Turgut Özal came with his chief employer Sakip Sabanci. He said the following to Türkes: 'You are Turkey's greatest leader and a banner of the anti-communist struggle,' and he gave him a large quantity of money." The mafia who had good ties with the MHP in Bulgaria, are Bekir Celenk and Berker Inanoglu, who was active as chairman of the MHP in Istanbul. Berker Inanoglu had a hand in the murder of the DISK general secretary, Kemal Türkler. It was an advantage for the mafia and its activities and control of the heroin trade that the MHP controlled the Customs Ministry under the MC government.

[1] FTKSME - Teams Waging an Armed Struggle Against Fascist Terror

ACTION TEACHES

In 1996 a 28-part series, "Action Teaches", was published in Turkish. It sought to educate revolutionaries about the armed struggle and the political struggle. Concrete examples of past actions were described and examined in detail. Selections from these are being published in the English-language Devrimci Sol. In the previous issue, the lessons of an ambush carried out against a police bus in 1992 were examined.

In this issue, the 1980 punishment of Nihat Erim is described. He was prime minister of Turkey following the 1971 military coup which was a response to the revolutionary upsurge at that time. The crackdown which claimed the lives of many revolutionaries happened during his tenure in office. Revenge was not immediate, but eventually Nihat Erim could not escape it.

PART 2

THE PUNISHMENT OF NIHAT ERIM, PRIME MINISTER OF THE MARCH 12, 1971 COUP

19. 6. 1980

In the summer of 1980 the information that Nihat Erim was staying in Dragos reached the movement. After some research and observation the information proved to be correct. So the movement ordered observation to be stepped up. To do this the responsible comrade together with a female comrade observed the flat of Nihat Erim for the space of a week. The female comrade was there for camouflage and only got a hint that there was some general research to be done in this area. To be inconspicious the comrades wore beach clothes and acted like a married couple.

There was no place opposite Erim's villa where it was possible to stay for a couple of hours, so the comrades had to promenade up and down the street. Observation showed that Nihat Erim lived in this house together with his wife and a female servant, and he left the villa on very few occasions. The villa was very large and situated in quiet surroundings. To leave the municipal district Erim had a chauffeur who was also his bodyguard. He always drove the same way, via Cevizli railway station, to the municipal district. To get to Maltepe they used the same route for security, because in Cevizli railway station there was a military commando consisting of five persons and on the same way a civil police car patrolled now and then. In addition to that, a military car with 15-20 soldiers which was sent out in as a form of mobile security under state of emergency conditions patrolled the areas of Maltepe, Cevizli and Kartal. Every day between 1045 and 1100 Nihat Erim set out for Deniz Kulubu[1] together with his bodyguard to do some swimming in the sea. To get into the area you have to be a member, but people who live outside of the municipal district can't get membership. On the opposite side of the club there's a security guard. The distance between Erim's villa and the club is about 400-500 metres. There are only a few streets and a sizeable number of villas.

It was decided to punish Nihat Erim, the responsible person for the massacre on March 30, 1972 in Kizildere, the execution of Deniz, Yusuf and Hüseyin[2], and the physical elimination of the leading cadres of THKP-C[3] and THKO. Four cadres of the Armed Revolutionary Units (SDB) and the Armed Team against the Fascist Terror (FTKSME) were chosen. Another member of the FTKSME was made responsible for organising a car. When he handed over the car to the action group, one week before the action, his mission was completed. After all the information was evaluated at the meeting of the action group the responsible comrade chose plan number one of the options on offer. After that the different tasks of the action were distributed to the comrades. According to the

plan Anadol would drive the car and another comrade would take over the responsibility for securing the area where the action took place. The comrade in charge of the action and another comrade would punish Nihat Erim. The plan was to put the bodyguard out of action and disarm him. If Erim's wife was there she was not to be harmed. According to plan number one the action would take place in front of the Deniz Kulubu. If Erim's car reached the club and he had got out the action would begin. Two 14-round Browning pistols, as well as two 7.65 Brownings were chosen for the action.

There was a second plan. In the event that something unforeseen should happen in front of the Deniz Kulubu at the moment of the action, Erim's car was to be raked with fire on the way, but only if his wife wasn't in the car. As a third and secondary plan they had thought about punishing Erim when he left his house, on the main street, but the likelihood of this plan being implemented was small.

The first day of the action

According to the plan, during the night, a comrade showed up with the car and began to clean it.

At about 10 in the morning two comrades who had been waiting at the railway station went to the beach. Each of them had a bag with sun oil, a bath towel and other bathing gear. The fourth comrade in the team came from the direction of Maltepe, but this comrade carried a gun behind his back, and three more in his bag together with the bathing gear. When the comrade had nearly reached the beach he recognised that a political police car was slowly driving behind him. The comrade was on full alert. He acted inconspicuously, just like a boy who is on his way to the beach. So the police car drove past. Four persons met at the beach. At 1045 they headed for the Deniz Kulubu to carry out a check. The police car was still nearby so the action was postponed until the next day. They returned to the beach and after a short while they left the area.

The second day:

On the second day the team, which met directly at the beach, waited for Erim to leave his house in his car. Erim left his house ten minutes later than usual. To be inconspicious the comrades had a chat with some people nearby. They saw that Erim took a shorter way to the beach, so it took him less time to reach the club. There were two possibilities, either to wait at the entrance, or to postpone the action until the next day. It was decided not to wait at the entrance, because that could have been conspicuous.

The third day:

It was decided to use the second plan.The team would rake him with fire on the crossing, where the street to Tekel meets with the first parallel street. They saw that Erim left his house. A comrade behaved like a pedestrian and carried out observation duties. The car waited nearby, but from the other direction a car with women and children came to the crossing and so the action was postponed.

The fourth day:

The next morning the team met at the cafe at the railway station. They had some tea and left the cafe behaving like construction workers, saying things like, "They are waiting for us at the building site." Shortly after, Anadol's car was parked next to the beach. The comrade who was responsible for the driving headed for the beach. The other two comrades did some swimming in the sea.

The comrade with the weapons arrived shortly after that, bringing with him the bag with the gun. He put the bag in a safe place where he could see it and then he went swimming too. Ten minutes later they left the water and began a conversation about their girlfriend, a conversation which would attract no attention on the beach. "My girl will arrive soon. We met yesterday and we quarrelled with her brother." They put their clothes on. After they had hid the gun behind their backs, then headed for Tekel Street in groups of two. Two of them went to the car and began to clean it. Two went to a kiosk nearby and had some Coke and ice cream. The kiosk was a good position to observe Erim's house. They waited until Erim left his house. He left it at 1050. The operation started. The comrade parked the car at some distance from the Deniz Kulubu. He opened the door and behaved like he was waiting for his girlfriend. Two comrades waited next to the club discussing if they could go to the beach there. The comrade who secured the area waited nearby, next to some tennis players. It took them five minutes to get to their positions.

Just before Erim's car reached the club the beach security guard came up to the two comrades next to the club and asked them what they were doing there. It wasn't permitted to walk around here. The comrades made jokes and started a discussion. They said that they wanted to go to the beach and tried to make him go away. They told him to go and ask at the club if it was forbidden to enter the beach area here. That was the moment when Erim's car arrived at the club. The bodyguard, Ali Kartal, got out of the car first. He opened the door for Erim. When Erim had left the car his bodyguard saw the two comrades and told them, "What are you doing here, go away!" The comrade responsible for the operation, came up to him and said: "Where are we supposed to go, we can go anywhere we want to." When the second comrade came up too, the bodyguard tried to draw his weapon. The responsible comrade warned him to put it away, but he wouldn't listen, and drew his 14-shot Browning. When he tried to shoot, two bullets brought him to the ground and he dropped his gun. Then Erim was punished. His wife came out of the car crying out loudly. She wasn't harmed. The bodyguard had got involved at the last moment, he

wasn't the target, but he was punished too. The fighters took the bodyguard's weapon and left a leaflet next to Erim, in which the operation was explained. Then they headed for the car. First the two comrades, then the driver, and lastly the comrade who had secured the area. The car drove up the hill with great speed, heading for Maltepe.

After 200 metres they saw a military car with 15-20 soldiers coming up in front of them, heading in the opposite direction. There was very little room left on the street. Either they would risk an accident to get by the military car, or they would lose precious time waiting for it to drive by. Of course Anadol would have had to get out of the way under the martial law situation, but the decision was made to drive by at full speed. They pulled their weapons and the responsible comrade shouted the order to the driver: "Full speed!" They drove by and left the area before the soldiers could understand what had happened. It took them five minutes to leave the municpal district. First the comrade who was responsible for the weapons left the car, taking the guns with him. At some distance, in Maltepe, the other three comrades left the car. In the evening they met to discuss the operation. Another enemy of the peoples of Turkey had been called to account.

The lesson which was drawn

In relation to the strength of the revolutionary will, all the enemies of the people are weak.

He was one of the public enemies who was condemned in songs like: "Erim erim erizesin - may you get awfully thin." The blood of the revolutonaries, the mourning of the people will cause revenge to be taken even if years go by first. The punishment of Erim was a new historical confirmation of that fact.

The punishment of Nihat Erim was, in the historical situation, like the punishment of Sabanci today, an operation which was welcomed by the people. When the people who had composed songs like: "Erim erim eriyesin, sürüm sürüm sürünesin - may you get awfully thin, may you have an awful life," heard of the action against him, they felt relieved. The fear of the oligarchy increased, and they said what they say today, "Who can face up to terror?"

On this day different scenarios were drawn. The TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) and its associates, who regard the armed struggle itself as a provocation, couldn't say a thing, even if they thought the same way.

On the whole, theories of provocation and conspiracy were not as widespread as today. Compared to today's vagueness, when nobody knows who is defending what and why, in those days there was some clarity on the left.

When heads started to get confused and started to foul up, theories of provocation and conspiracy started to spread. The followers of the DY (Devrimci Yol, Revolutionary Path) for example, had much sympathy with the act of punishment. The leaders of DY, on the other hand, disparaged the operation before the courts of the junta, comparing it to fascist assassinations. Their foulness started in those days, and deepened up to the present day.

Basically the area and the house of Erim was secure. There was only one bodyguard, but the area was full of police and military forces. They were responsible for protecting Erim. In this way the area promised security, and was nearly isolated. But they didn't reckon with the courage and creativity of the revolutionaries.

Oh how beautiful it would be, you who would splash in the blood of the people, the revolutionaries, and be proud about being a hammer beating down on the heads of the people. And later on, you would live in prosperity in your villa, with a nice view of the sea. No, it can't be allowed. Those who are looking for and believe in the "provocations and plots", and see the punishment of Erim or Sabanci in that light, and who have doubts, thinking that "revolutionaries could not succeed", these people are standing well outside the rage of the peoples; essentially these people do not accept the people's right to demand a reckoning. And of course they have no idea of the creativity, courage and willpower of revolutionaries.

The security the oligarchy promises the representatives of monopolism, the ministers, prime ministers, the heads of the police, the contra-guerrillas and so on only remains valid when the people and the revolutionaries aren't well organised and are in a weak position. That's the most important issue.

In those days the papers asked why a former prime minister only had one bodyguard, but that wasn't the issue. Let us think about the act of punishment against Nural Ucurum, for example, as described in the second part of our series. First he had only one bodyguard, but when the operation of July 12 meant that information about him became known, he hired five of them. The outcome was the same.

No target, no enemy of the people is out of reach. The acts of punishment against Erim and Sabanci alone can prove that. These operations also taught everyone a lesson about the vanguard and the leadership. If a political movement declares itself to be the mouthpiece and representative of the people, but doesn't listen to the songs in which the people tell about their hatred of the tyrants, then it's all talk. We are a movement of the people. That's why we feel the hatred of the people and that's why we are as sure as the people that our curse will come true. Those who don't believe in that should look at Erim's death!

1 private beach club

2 These three revolutionaries of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) were sentenced to death and hanged in 1972

3 People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey

Tourists in Gazi

SABINA MARTIN

A delegation from the Labour Party of Belgium (PTB) was in Gazi to join the March 12 commemoration. It was a militant march. It started with a couple of hundred people, but the group increased in size, and it kept growing to 10,000, 20,000 people. We passed the cemetery and slogans were shouted in front of the houses of the martyrs, and there were songs to commemorate the martyrs and in support of their families. Most of the people marched in the People's Council's part of the procession. They were carrying signs with the slogans: ►Justice for the People! The Susurluk State will have to account to the people!" They shouted the slogans of the Party-Front.

Everybody could see they were people from Gazi. They were their signs,their slogans, their people, their Cephe ("Front"). Even the Belgian friends, in Turkey for the first time, could see this. At the end of the demonstration, there were groups from other parties, the PKK, MLKP and TIKB. They were masked, carrying huge flags bearing the symbols of their parties. A group of mothers were watching them. I asked: "Who are they?" They answered: "We don't know. They're not from here. They don't have martyrs here." It was like there were two demonstrations: the commemoration of the People's Council and the Cephe, and the demonstration by the masked ones. This was not the right occasion to march among the groups who were wearing masks. The question is, who has roots among the people, and who does not.

The next day, we visited the cemetery. The tombstones of the young martyrs were surrounded by relatives who were crying and singing. We didn't dare to take pictures. Deep in our hearts, we felt like tourists. Our chauffeur wouldn't let us leave before we took some pictures. Before the families left, they brought us fruit and biscuits. We felt like tourists and this pained us. Of course, we had to take pictures. We couldn't do anything about this in Belgium unless we had pictures. When we don't share in their grief, we can't share in their life and in their struggle.

I also met a new friend. Yusuf is a boy, slender, 11 years of age. He tried his best English, I tried my best Turkish. When he heard we were friends of the Cephe, we were allowed to put his flowers on the grave. He beamed when he said he was from the Cephe too. His slender body suddenly took the appearance of a guerrilla who was going to move mountains. The future of the Cephe is secure.

The reception of foreigners is always an impressive experience. We left Belgium with a few visits on our agenda because we didn't want to be a burden to the families. But that's not the way it works in Turkey. The protection and the hospitality is so warm, we just had to adjust to it. "The People's Council told me to accompany you," "the People's Council told me to arrange transport for you." We were protected like princesses, while our hosts took great risks for us. We stayed with the family of one of the martyrs. After we left, the police raided the house to punish them. We could not visit them anymore, but we were kept informed through our friends. We were called "tourists". When we asked how we could get rid of that label, the answer was: "Come to Gazi. You're friends of the Cephe, you are visiting us in solidarity and when you are here, you're Cephe too."

We also did something concrete. The Labour Party has 10 medical centres in Belgium, "Health Care for the People". One of those wants to fraternise with the People's Council and participated in our delegation. Initially we wanted to set up a support campaign to help the Health Committee of the People's Council. But we saw that this was not enough, The People's Council is a source of inspiration for our own work in Belgium, on how we can address the problems in our own neighbourhoods, how we can improve our work among the masses. We had school utensils with us for the children in Gazi. The girls of the Cultural Committee were very glad of these. For a time they had walked around with plans to set up a People's School so the children can receive a good and affordable education. Hopefully it can start now permanently. If every foreign delegation from Belgium or Europe would take some things with them, there would be a constant supply. And we can explain in our country that these goods are meant for the People's Council in Gazi. The girls of the Cultural Committee also asked if our youngsters were willing to come to Gazi this summer for a month to teach English to the youngsters of Gazi.

The organization of the People's Councils also has another special meaning to us. For two years now, the resistance in Belgium is growing against the bosses and the government. There is the movement for jobs, against the child pornography networks, against racism. More and more, the state grows fascist, resembling the state model in Turkey. The people's uprisings of a few months ago, when a Moroccan boy was shot dead by the police in Brussels, pose the question of how we are going to organise the movements of struggle and the people's uprisings into one mass movement against the capitalist state. The masses are gaining self-confidence and the strength to take their fate into their own hands. They are organising to be victorious. That's what we are learning from the People's Councils and the Parti-Cephe who patiently do their revolutionary work to achieve victory.

From March 30 to July 12, From April 17 to Today... From Today Until Victory

Several dates are of great importance in the history of our movement. March 30, 1972 was the day when leading cadres of the THKP-C died fighting at Kizildere, writing the manifesto of Turkey's road to revolution through their resistance. March 30, 1994 was the date when the DHKP (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party) was founded. July 12, 1991 and April 17, 1992 were dates when the oligarchy martyred numerous cadres and fighters of our movement. Every year, the period March 30-April 17 is when we commemorate our martyrs.

THE OLIGARCHY'S POLICY OF DESTRUCTION AND OUR UNBEATABLE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The THKP-C confronted the oligarchy with the danger of a revolution resulting from the armed struggle. In the 1970s the ruling classes of the republic which had existed for 50 years had faced Kurdish rebellions, minor reactionary uprisings, illegal organisations and the struggle of the TKP (Communist Party of Turkey), which called for revolution. However, the rulers never felt their power was threatened by them. This was because these movements did not contain within them the urge to take power. The Kurdish rebellions took place at local level and were nationalistic. The reactionary rebellions were also local and were merely a response to what was happening. And the TKP was far from having a form of struggle which thought in terms of taking power, even though this was in their programme.

In the second half of the 1960s, the TIP (Labour or Workers' Party of Turkey) developed quickly, taking its place in the political arena with a call for "changing the regime". It managed to gather behind it a section of the masses, and 15 members of the TIP were elected to parliament. Despite its parliamentary and reformist character, this was a result of the development of socialism and it was this that disturbed the oligarchy. However, the oligarchy saw no threat to the system from the TIP and its struggle, for the TIP was socialist in words but its struggle was confined within the limits placed by the system and took the current parliamentary system as the basis. It was far from being able to overthrow the power of the oligarchy or even create the conditions for it.

The struggle which was directly aimed against the oligarchy's power took shape at the start of the 1970s in the form of armed struggle, especially on the part of the THKP-C. This was because the THKP-C was a party which aimed to achieve people's power. Of course that is not enough of itself for a political movement to be viewed as a threat by the rulers. As mentioned earlier, the TIP and other political movements claimed to be aiming for people's power and socialism. What distinguishes the THKP-C from everyone else is the road it took towards achieving people's power and socialism. The strategic line of the THKP-C is a line which can achieve this. This road is not simply restricted to theories of people's power and socialism but is directed towards achieving them in practice. This road means achieving socialism through waging open warfare. It is the road of the Anatolian uprising.

Whether to take the armed struggle as a basis or not was the decisive question among the left at that point. Decisive, because the only revolutionary line which could make possible the achieving of power was the line which took armed struggle as its basis. Those who do not follow this line are not part of the struggle for power or are at least far removed from it, no matter what they say. In this sense it can be said that the beginning of a struggle which had power as its aim dates back to the start of the 1970s.

When the oligarchy was confronted with this danger, it carried out a policy aimed at annihilating the revolutionary left. The oligarchy already had official and civil organisations which came about through the domination of imperialism and which were organised to fight

the people and wage civil war. However, until the second half of the 1960s these organisations were not often used. Only when the struggle of the revolutionary youth movement under the leadership of those who later founded the THKP-C and the THKO gained ground in the struggle against the regime and established an openly anti-imperialist line did the oligarchy set in motion a counterrevolutionary policy, and the organisations to go with it. These included civil fascists (the Grey Wolves) and official organisations which began to use terror against the revolutionaries and the people.

In this period, the murder of revolutionaries started. Attacks by civil fascists and the police against actions by students and workers resulted in the first deaths. On the other hand, peaceful demonstrations turned into occupations, and attacks met with a swift response. Youths learned to make and use Molotov cocktails and eventually came to the understanding that they must acquire firearms. Militant groups began to be formed which could intervene if there were spontaneous clashes. Now a period of radical struggle began in which people fell, and they will continue to fall: in contrast with the revisionist left which for 50 years has been far removed from waging an open struggle with the regime and which fears paying a price and making others pay a price, and is ready neither to die nor to kill.

Against the armed struggle of the THKP-C the oligarchy set all its counterrevolutionary organisations in motion. March 12, 1971 was a turning point for the oligarchy. The policy of massacres and annihilation was used completely openly. While those who might cause problems for this policy were liquidated, fascism was institutionalised. The only aim of the March 12 coup was to physically destroy the revolutionary movement. As a consequence of this policy of annihilation and massacre, the leading and fighting cadres of the THKP-C and THKO were brutally murdered and the prisons held more revolutionaries and progressives than had ever been the case previously. The March 12 period ended in physical defeat for the revolutionary movement.

However there was also something the oligarchy did not reckon with: the physical defeat of the THKP-C was also a political victory. It made possible the revolutionary line of the Party-Front's supporters who never bow down and continue the struggle whatever the conditions. By accepting their physical destruction, they actually ensured the future of the revolutionary movement. They had written down the manifesto which showed the way to the future. The oligarchy destroyed the THKP-C physically at Kizildere but it was able neither to defeat nor destroy the class struggle.

The supporters of the Front after 1974 reorganised themselves, even if not in the form of a party, and developed a line of struggle which delivered even greater blows to the state. In this period too the oligarchy used massacres against the revolutionary leadership. Revolutionary cadres and militants were murdered in particular. Wih the coup of September 12, 1980 the massacres continued and executions were added to the massacres. But the putsch was unable to make physical destruction of the revolutionary movement on a broad scale into an open policy in this period. Only in the 1990s did the oligarchy carry out this policy openly.

More than twenty years have gone by since Kizildere.

For years, the oligarchy could prevent the THKP-C from organising after the annihilation at Kizildere. However, at the beginning of the 1990s, the full force of the armed struggle confronted the oligarchy. The war which developed with the line of the Party-Front, punished the people's enemies, spread throughout Anatolia and strengthened the hope that the oligarchy sought to destroy at Kizildere. On July 12, 1991 the same type of policy of destruction was used, this time against Devrimci Sol. But they could not achieve the same result. Apart from the fact that they could not deal it a political blow, they did not manage to disorganise the line of the Party-Front. The revolutionary movement could continue its struggle and efforts to organise unhindered.

July 12 is not a one-off attack but simply the result of a particular policy and a crystallisation of the reality of warfare in all its openness. The actual practice of the "Susurluk State" which was exposed recently is directed against our movement but it began on July 12. It is one of the turning points in the open warfare of the Susurluk State against the people and the revolutionaries. This date in the history of the revolution in Turkey is the oligarchy's attempt to destroy the revolution in Turkey with an all-out attack, to prevent it being revived again. July 12 was a destructive blow aimed at laming the organisation's existence and preventing it from functioning, just like at Kizildere. In this sense it had no success. But the policy of destruction did not end on July 12, this was only the beginning. After this date a policy was developed in which the murder and execution of Party-Front supporters was completely "legitimised". Hundreds of Devrimci Sol and DHKP-C fighters were murdered as a result of this policy. The final aim was to annihilate them completely.

On April 17, 1992 they tried again. They received an answer they did not expect. While the public were told that "We have crushed their brains", the Devrimci Sol fighters were able to prevent the police from going out on the street. Afterwards it was clear that the war continued, and after the police chiefs had said "We have dealt with them, destroyed them," they had to admit with regard to the revolutionary movement that "It is an organisation that quickly repairs the damage it suffers." But that did not mean the oligarchy was ending its policy of annihilation.

In the following periods its policy developed on this basis. They wanted to use annihilation and betrayal, external and internal blows to achieve a final result.

In the period of treason by the putschists on September 13, 1992, the oligarchy was full of hope that it would achieve a result with its policy of annihilation. The revolutionary movement found itself besieged. While on the one hand the oligarchy used all its contra-guerrilla methods in psychological warfare, on the other it carried on the continual annihilation of Devrimci Sol fighters. This was a period in which from right to left, all forces united to annihilate us. But they were disappointed. While the contra-forces were rendered harmless and the plans of the contra-guerril-

las were frustrated, those on the left who with their lies, intrigues and attacks took part in the attempts to encircle us became black spots in the history of the revolution.

Did we use good military equipment and perfect organisation to resist these attacks? Did we use military actions to break the encirclement? No! Neither of these methods were used to break the encirclement. With regard to military strength and organisational structures, this was a period when we were weaker than before. However there were other things that made us strong against the attacks. Devrimci Sol cadres and fighters kept their trust in the organisation and leadership. The resoluteness to fight on held sway, so those who fell were quickly followed by new martyrs. Despite everything we broke through the encirclement and continued our march towards revolution.

We removed the putschists, broke through encirclement and realised our first step of becoming a party.

The policy of annihilation remained on the agenda. But the oligarchy could not prevent the continuity of our struggle. What was decisive here was the resistance of the fighters of Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C. The ones who were the direct targets of the policy of destruction.

The oligarchy's attacks aimed at annihilating the revolutionaries were resisted on April 17, in Ankara, Adana and Bagcilar, where a heroic epic was written down. Every one of the oligarchy's attacks were met with the resistance of our fighters who carried out a line, a tradition, turned it into a warcry with the hoisting of our Party-Front's flag. These attacks strengthen no political organisations and can mean the destruction of many. Overcoming them and continuing development was made possible by assimilating the characteristics of the Party-Front.

This period is a history in which we can die but not surrender or deviate from our path, in which we will shout our slogans more loudly, put this into practice and write legends in our own blood. Our people and our party are indebted to our comrades who are the creators of this history and these dignified legends.

This legend and history was an open warning to those who are ready for any kind of deviation and conciliation and quite openly replace revolutionary behaviour with bourgeois politics. This legend and history prevented many from deteriorating even further. This resistance does not consist simply of "heroic deeds", and not just in our country, but they are political actions with which we have transmitted internationalist and socialist consciousness to the whole world. We have shown in times when counter-revolutions have been at their highest point that we had the resolve to defend socialism. Armed resistance during encirclement showed that the counterrevolutionary wind could not prevent the banner of socialism with the hammer and sickle from waving. In this respect it is setting an example for all political movements as well as forming a barricade against rightist deviations.

And those who do not see that. As long as the Party-Front line continues to carry on the class struggle in practice, they will carry on with the "literature" of "vanguardism" and "leadership" and merely conduct a struggle to maintain their own existence. This is how the situation of the left can be described.

History is not written with cheap words at a table, but written within life itself.

What was done during the March 12 and September 12 juntas? What happened at Kizildere, on July 12 and September 12, and how did people behave afterwards? In answering all these questions the tradition of the Party-Front has to be taken into account. Our party's connection to the people and the revolution and its willingness to strive for and take power. History has condemned those who called Kizildere "suicide". It is easy to criticise and come up with theories, even after 25 to 30 years, that the Mahirs ought to have gone abroad. This means that these people understood nothing of the revolutionary upheaval in the 1970s and the THKP-C movement. There are those who do not criticise because they know that history was written at the time by the Mahirs and not by the people who chose to emigrate.

Nobody remembers the names of those who did not fight because they separated themselves from the class struggle. In the end this is all to be expected from those who do not fight. The THKP-C overcame all the usual criteria in existence up until its time, all the revisionist and opportunist words, it destroyed the status quo. Admittedly, the blows dealt out on March 12 and after meant that the organisational continuity

of the movement could not be maintained, there was an interruption, even if it did not last long. But this was normal in terms of the experience of the movement at the time. The future was built during this time of sacrifices. The Party-Front took on this inheritance and developed it. In this way it was possible to overcome July 12 and April 17.

It has reached a point where it can carry on the struggle even if not just dozens but hundreds of its leading cadres have been lost. This was made possible by Kizildere.

The DHKP-C is an organisation for waging war. As long as such an organisation does not surrender, no defeat or blow can succeed in annihilating it.

Defeat is final when one surrenders. Those who do not surrender turn their defeats into victories. The history written in Kizildere and on July 12 is just such a history.

The DHKP-C is a people's movement. Nowhere have the ruling classes ever succeeded in completely annihilating a people though massacres.

The DHKP-C in invincible for these reasons.

Those who try to "condemn" the Mahirs and the THKP-C under these conditions are also unable today to understand the struggle of Devrimci Sol and the DHKP-C. They think of this war as a "duel" and think that the oligarchy will emerge victorious from this war. Those who think this way do not believe in the revolutionary war or in the people and are outside the people's reality.

The essence of a war is that no victory can be achieved against the oligarchy without paying a price. Whoever wants to win a war and sincerely and decisive aspire to power must also be prepared to pay such a price. War only gives a chance to those who recognise its rules and its laws.

For those who are outside the war and people's reality and who are afraid of the price it will demand, the end will come in the form of political reformism, betrayal and fleeing from the war. This is the reason and there is no other why people like Münir Aktolga and Yusuf Küpeli who occupied the highest positions inside the THKP-C, turned into worms who gnawed at the party from within. This is the reason why a movement like Devrimci Yol (Revolutionary Path) which conducted an armed struggle of its own and had hundreds of martyrs, turned into the ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party, an organisation hostile to the armed struggle), or why those who had various tasks in the movement carried out the putsch of September 13 and all the treason that went with it. When did the Münirs carry out the rightist deviation and commit treason? When Cevahir had been shot dead, Mahir and dozens of other cadres and fighters of the Party-Front had been arrested and the oligarchy's encirclement was tightening. To justify their liquidationist and treacherous position, they declared that "at that time we did not understand Marxism-Leninism but now we do."

No, that has nothing to do with reality. What actually happened was that they were confronted with the reality of warfare and feared what this reality meant. Devrimci Yol's discovery of the road to creating a legal party, the TDKP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey) discovery of the need for an open party for the working class - these discoveries were not arrived at following a period of discussion, they were arrived at in Mamak (a prison run by the army following the 1980 coup). The cadres who in Mamak were directly confronted with the price of the war and who always had in the back of their minds their own political denial, also let down their own cause in the same concealed manner. That is what happened. Those who made the putsch of September 13 were those who could not give up the petit bourgeois dream that revolution was near. The process of the upswing did not proceed without losses as in the beginning, but rather there was a battle with the oligarchy and July 12 happened. When the reality of war was shown on July 12, and the dimension of the price to be paid was obvious, the petite bourgeoisie made its last effort to conquer the organisation to save itself from paying a price and so it went over to treason. The common factor in all these deviations and betrayals which arose at different times and under different conditions was that they capitulated before the reality of war. It does not matter that all their theories differ from one another because they cover up the same surrender. As our people would say, everything happened when they "looked violence in the face".

The greatness of the Party-Front could also be found here. It is a party which goes along the path of struggle. With the conviction that the peoples of Turkey have no other path than the struggle, and with the resolve to be in the first rank of this struggle, it entered the arena of the class struggle. The supporters of the Party-Front have been fighting for exactly 28 years with this same resolve and conviction. The meaning of the words Mahir used in Kizildere, "We have not come here to turn back, we came here to die," and the manifesto of this war is that all the fighters in the war, individually and as the Party-Front should be prepared to fight until the last drop of blood. For this reason the slogan "War until liberation" is one of the basic slogans of the Party-Front.

The DHKP-C is convinced that from Mahir to the present no price is in vain. The proof of this is that the name of our hope is "DHKP-C" and tens of thousands are assembled under the banner of the Front. This is also eidence of the invincibility of the Party-Front.

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Defeat is final when one surrenders. Those who do not surrender turn their defeats into victories. The history written in Kizildere and on July 12 is just such a history.

The DHKP-C is a people's movement. Nowhere have the ruling classes ever succeeded in completely annihilating a people though massacres.

The DHKP-C in invincible for these reasons. The oligarchy's policy of annihilation has failed over the past 28 years, and it is doomed to failure.

Victory will be ours.

"WE HAVE THE HONOUR OF DEFENDING SOCIALISM"

This is an extract from a speech by DHKP General Secretary Dursun Karataş at the DHKP founding congress in March 1994.

In a world where imperialism tells fairy tales about stamping out the socialist system and defeating socialism, many of the organisations who call themselves "revolutionary" or "communist" are racing with each other to compromise with imperialism and abandon their weapons. When Marxist-Leninists challenge all imperialists and their collaborators and raise the banner of struggle, it is considered to be madness.

Imperialism was confident that it could make the socialist system collapse by relying on revisionists and on the way some organisations - which once upon a time had attempted to make revolution - were searching for a way to surrender. Imperialism was not afraid of socialism anymore and believed that it had wiped out all elements of socialism, so that none could stand up again. When imperialism, in cooperation with the world's greatest traitor, Gorbachev, organised the great plot against the socialist system, the left still could not realise that imperialism wished and plotted to be the only power in the world. The left was almost applauding the imperialist plots against those countries which were revisionist and opportunist but were in general terms socialist systems. One of the most typical examples we had seen was the collapse of Ceausescu's rule in Romania at the hands of the imperialists. We witnessed events that would never be forgotten and remembered with shame the behaviour of those who called themselves communists and revolutionaries. Imperialists, their local collaborators, fascists, social democrats, nationalists and those who called themselves Marxist-Leninists, socialists and communists were united in the same front. The target of this front was the socialist power of Ceausescu which committed the "crime" of resisting the imperialist attack as well as making mistakes. The resistance of the Ceausescus and their supporters in the face of death was not enough for leftists and communists whose minds had been made to surrender by imperialism, it did not violate their sense of justice. Because their justice was the justice of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. When the so-called communists who were fed by revisionist culture and assimilated revisionism, and the opportunists who were quick to condemn revisionism disintegrated or collaborated with imperialism, the media of imperialism influenced the minds of these leftist communists first. By forgetting the fundamental criteria of imperialism, they did not waste much time in agreeing with imperialist propaganda which focused on the negative points of those like Ceausescu. There was no answer to the question of since when revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists had started supporting imperialist attacks. But it was possible for Gorbachev to answer this question. According to him, imperialism was not the same, this one was different and the era of the wars for national liberation and socialism was a long time ago. This evaluation was also a way of telling the imperialists "we will be with you to demolish the socialism that exists" and telling his supporters, "there is no use, do not resist and help us to dismantle these systems". And before the eyes of the entire world, imperialists, together with so-called "leftist-communists", overthrew Ceausescu.

In the world of the left wing, where disintegration and corruption increased and treason became cheap, besides the corrupt, the traitors and those who sold their countries to the imperialists, we had to be the defenders of the proletariat, the peoples, justice, freedom and socialism regardless of facing the hatred of the rest of the world. During the conditions when the imperialist plot had overthrown Romania, besides defending the rights and wrongs of Ceausescu, the world's left were being tested as to whether they were against imperialism or not.

When revisionism which was rotting the left internally and had controlled it for decades, raised the banner of treason, it succeeded in pulling the world's left behind it. The socialist system collapsed and many of the countries and liberation movements which were structured according to the pragmatism of this system suddenly found themselves in a vacuum. Since the consciousness of escalating the people's struggle by relying on their own power was not developed, it became the fashion to compromise with imperialism and avoid the imperialist attack so as to cut one's losses. The pragmatism, starting from the revisionist CPSU and continuing with the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, developed further by affecting their sister parties in other countries, reached the point of betraying people and the liberation movements by the policy of compromising with imperialism. From now on, self-interest replaced socialism and internationalism.

We had to be the representatives of a political line, Marxism-Leninism, which will stand up, raise the banner of socialism and not drown in the swamp of the left which surrendered to imperialism and was motivated by self-interest, a phenomenon not only in our country but in the whole world. Even though some of the organisations which are not in this swamp - or do not appear to be - did not sign the peace treaties and did not abandon weapons officially, they too preferred the way of peace and compromise

"IMPERIALISM'S ATTACK ON THE ARAB PEOPLE"

This analysis of imperialist aggression in the Middle East is taken from a speech by the General Secretary of the DHKP, Dursun Karataş, at the DHKP's founding congress on March 30, 1994.

"With the strength it gained from the collapse of the socialist system, imperialism, led by US imperialism, started operations to win absolute sovereignty over the peoples of the countries that might threaten imperialist hegemony, that the imperialists had trouble controlling or which which refused to serve imperialism. These operations involved provocations and plots under the name of "democracy and freedom" and "protecting the right of other countries to self-determination". The brutal attack of imperialism was a plot which has been written down in history as the Middle East's Gulf Crisis, which caused the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, destroyed their resources and injured the national honour of the Arab people.

Saddam is a dictator. He oppresses the Kurdish people and certain other peoples. He organised genocide. These are truths that are known by everyone. But besides all these, Saddam attempted to attack the imperialist collaborator, Kuwait - because he was thinking of his national interests and damaged the interests of imperialism - in a world in which imperialism had established its hegemony and called it "the new world order" and did not want anything to be outside its control. The destruction of Kuwait and also of the interests of imperialism was enough to constitute a death sentence for the Iraqi people, just for being a voice of opposition to the new world order of imperialism. Imperialism divided up the Arab people and prevented them from achieving unity, impoverished them and incited them to clash with each other. Together with the collapse of the socialist system, those Arab countries which, relatively speaking, had resisted imperialism, did not hesitate to take their place in the imperialist front in order to be able to find a place in the new world order. Also, all imperialists and their collaborators, for their own interests, continued to brutally apply the imperialist rule of destroying any movement that rebels against imperialism, no matter where the rebellion is in the world.

The left in Turkey and the world was subjected to a new test by imperialist brutality. It would be revealed that the causes which had earlier led them to side with imperialism over Romania were not just the result of delusions or misinformation.

During their political history these left wings never indirectly, by not being against imperialism and by turning a blind eye to the presence of imperialism. With this politics, they sent imperialism the message: "When we have conquered power in our country, we will not harm your interests. You support us, we'll protect you". The representatives of this line are mostly the organisations which are in the nationalist orbit. After the collapse of the socialist system, this nationalist understanding increased and using socialist verbiage as a shield while feeding the tendency to submit and compromise with imperialism, this approach asked imperialism to liberate peoples under its direct or indirect control and praised imperialism's mercy and kindness. No matter how they phrase it, this liberation that was granted by imperialism is false and is nothing but a way to incite hatred between people and deprive them of their revolutionary dynamics.

While imperialism cannot bear the development - even if it is only on a small scale - of Marxism-Leninism and socialist movements and is attempting to crush them with absolute cruelty, the fact that it is supporting nationalist movements almost everywhere under the false vision of national rights should teach us a lot.

Today from Russia to the Middle East, in most parts of the world, the struggle and fight of peoples on the basis of nationalism is supported by imperialism directly or indirectly, or at the very least the imperialists are observing the situation. These movements which do not disturb imperialism and aim to create a bourgeois government for their self-interest, under the pretext of "having the advantages of imperialists", are on the way to being under the control of imperialism and the development of these movements proceeds according to the interests of these imperialists.

With the collapse of the socialist system, the nationalist movements sprang up everywhere like wild mushrooms, the bourgeoisie and their offshoots the supporters of civil society and anti-Stalinist movements claimed that socialism is like a prison for the nations, and therefore, following the collapse of socialist revolutions, these movements sprouted up!

The surrender to imperialism has reached a stage where the very concept of imperialism has been forgotten.

trusted in their strength and were strongly and increasingly influenced by revisionist and opportunist communist parties. Once again they supported the imperialist attack and cooperated in this crime by not showing reacting and not taking a clear ideological and practical stance against the attacks of imperialism aimed at massacring the Iraqi people and destroying Iraq. By evaluating the situation with the words "a plague on both your houses" and "Saddam is bad and the imperialists are aggressors" and not reacting at all, they showed just the kind of attitude imperialism wanted them to display. In this manner, the imperialists neutralised and made ineffective the forces that might have been expected to react against them. They became neutral. You cannot be neutral towards the struggle against imperialism. This attitude encouraged imperialism and weakened the struggle of the peoples.

It was not necessary to be a Marxist-Leninist, a socialist to oppose the imperialist terror and oppression. It was enough to be honourable, against imperialism and a friend of the peoples. In this rotten environment in which imperialism wanted to make everyone surrender and become sycophantic through plots, force and propaganda, we should take the side of the Middle Eastern peoples and strike blows against imperialism, trusting in our own strength and taking the risk of paying a heavy price, and despite the hostility of imperialism, its collaborators and the left.

Our revolution could not be separate from the revolutions of other countries, especially the struggle of the Middle Eastern peoples, in the geography that we share with them. The THKP-C left us this conception as an inheritance, a tradition of carrying the flag of internationalism even in the most difficult periods and by making it a material force with blows against imperialism and Zionism. Since 1974, a time when we did not have a fixed organisational form, by following this pattern, we organised actions and showed our attitude towards the attacks of imperialism against people anywhere in the world. Our cadres and followers developed themselves with this conception. We should hit out from our front, our country, against this imperialist brutality which aims to terrify all the people of the Middle East and threaten and intimidate the peoples of the world, we have to show the left and the world that the struggle against imperialism has not been crushed and will never be crushed. To be silent towards the imperialist attack is to share in imperialism's crimes - the intention of those who do that is obvious: under the name of political strategy, diplomacy, in fact pragmatism, they are thinking of "self-interest, not facing up to losses and they even think of taking advantage of the situation". This was not our way. This could not be the attitude of anti-imperialists, revolutionaries, those who defend the fraternity of the people. This was the attitude of bourgeois nationalists, reactionaries and several sections of the middle class. Unless this reactionary attitude is condemned in our country and the world, both ideologically and politically, imperialism will continue to incite hatred between peoples, dominate them and make them surrender.

During the period when imperialism was gathering its forces and starting to shape public awareness, we raised the issue of imperialism's reality by calling upon all the left groups in Turkey and Kurdistan, and we tried to force them to show their attitude by participating in organisations like "the committees against imperialist war", which were open to all. It would not be wrong to say that the groups who in reality had no intention of opposing imperialism made every effort to prevent unity and a proper response by using all sorts of methods, including provocation, in different ways and at different times. They were either not aware of or even ignored this open attack by imperialism. Following months of discussion, nothing was done except for a couple of small-scale demonstrations, because of the ineffective participation of some of the organisations, and since the real faces of those left-wing political structures were revealed, they persistently sabotaged the meetings we organised in which we aimed to bring about unity of strength and action. Because we were making approaches and organising platforms that could not be rejected by anybody. Their capacities to achieve success in their work, their ideological approach, their strength... their deficiencies were clearly exposed and this embarrassied them. The "plague on both your houses " evaluation of the imperialist war by opportunism led the same opportunists to sabotage unity of strength and action.

We had to take further our opposition to imperialism by exposing the real face of opportunism.

Almost all bases of imperialists, mainly the USA's, who were attacking the Iraqi people, and the collaborators, their military bases, diplomatic targets, monopolies, the bases of the agents that disguised themselves as aid institutions... all these were our targets. We announced to the peoples of Turkey and the world that we would attack these imperialist targets. In conditions where neither the left, nor the collaborators, nor the imperialists believed or expected it would happen, we found the top secret imperialist targets and punished, destroyed and injured them. One after another, by extending our actions over a prolonged period of time, we continued and interpreted the feelings and thoughts of the peoples of the world against imperialism. Once again we were against imperialism and did exactly the opposite of what others were doing. Some of the world's organisations which could not completely give in to imperialism joined our opposition soon afterwards. When our ideological attitude combined with our actions, this became a spark which recalled to mind an anti-imperialist attitude that people were beginning to forget.

During our advance in 1990, with our actions for justice, it showed the people's enemies that they were accountable for their crimes, our struggle would continue regardless of the conditions and they would not be able

to destroy us. Also, with our opposition to the plot which led to the collapse of the socialist system and the attacks of imperialism under the rubric of the new world order, we announced the good news to the peoples of the world that we can produce revolutionary politics on the world scale and we would continue our march towards revolution and would not go into the swamp of pragmatism and move nearer the forces that want to destroy revolution.

This was the period when our cadres and fighters developed self-confidence, came to know the opportunist left better and started to realise the mission that our organisation had to achieve. The reality of Devrimci Sol started to appear as an alternative, introducing itself in every area and within a very short time, giving people confidence.

Imperialism did not waste time acting and listed Devrimci Sol as a most dangerous organisation. While the struggle strengthening its own battle order, it also caused the enemy front to be extended.

The left could not give a theoretical justification for its lack of concern. When we reacted against the imperialist attack, they declared us to be "supporters of Saddam". Yet when Saddam attacked the Kurdish people and hundreds of thousands of them became refugees, these same people did not lift a finger and merely watched this cruelty, uttering a few words. Even some people who had rather suddenly discovered their own Kurdish nationalism, even though they claim that they fight for the liberation of the Kurdish people do not refrain from accusing us of being"supporters of Saddam", and shamelessly watching the tyranny, before the Arabs and peoples of the world, speaking about "tactic alliances" (whatever it means!) did not hesitate to collaborate with Saddam. During this period the duty of condemning Saddam's cruelty also fell to us.

In order to control the liberation struggle of the Kurdish people and to continue the attack on the Iraqi people, while the clear establishment of imperialism in Kurdistan takes place under the name of "protecting the peace", almost all the Kurdish nationalist movements that claiming to represent the Kurdish people and blame each other for being the lackeys of imperialism, did not react against the installation and activity of Hammer Force in Kurdistan (US and British military aircraft based in Turkey and flying over northern Iraq on pretext of aiding Kurds - also known as "Provide Comfort"). Some defended it openly and others kept silent, and by not protesting against the presence of Hammer Force, they were giving clear signals to US imperialism.

No matter what they say and how powerful the armed forces they have, every movement that is not acting against imperialism and which compromises with it will come under the control of imperialism in the end and clear the path for the exploitation of their country. Imperialism will continue to let these organisations survive and develop as part of a framework balancing different politics and interests, as long as they maintain their failure to react against imperialism. At the same time, since these movements have the function of creating deviations in the peoples' road to liberation, using up their revolutionary potential, with their nationalist-pragmatist ideologies they fostered disbelief in socialism and a spirit of capitalist selfishness, they played a negative role to prevent the liberation struggle of the peoples from progressing. Therefore, imperialism took advantage of these movements as barriers to the struggle for socialism, for by fostering nationalism they weakened socialism.

Imperialism did not waste time in targetting the Kurdish and Arab peoples after receiving support from Kurdish nationalist movements in Iraq and Kurdistan of Turkey and Arab countries and isolating Saddam. Since Saddam was not a threat to imperialism anymore, imperialism would also ignore Saddam's attack on the Kurdish people and their forced migration. This attack was by imperialism rather than Saddam. By approving the attack of Saddam imperialism wished to make the Kurdish nationalist movements dependent to them and also make these movements a force in the Middle East that could be made use of if necessary. By making the Kurdish people kill each other, imperialism brought some of the Arab countries which were still resisting, to the line of the "new world order" and with the attack on Iraq was temporarily successful. But this success was illusory.

This attack by imperialism showed the peoples of the world that imperialism had not changed, on the contrary, it forced the peoples to experience oppression and exploitation more intensely and proved that the struggle against imperialism is essential. This reality means that the successes of imperialism also carry within them the seeds of its defeat. Kurdish nationalism under the control of imperialism is still continuing to be a pawn on the chessboard of the Middle East. Recently, Arafat, formerly the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, was included in this game to continue to strengthen the intrigues of imperialism against the people.

In order to make the success permanent after its attack on the Iraqi people, as a preparation for the visit by George Bush, when imperialism sent James Baker to the Middle East and Turkey, the left and Kurdish nationalism which claimed to be against imperialism were silent again.

After all these cruelties, it would be an insult to the revolutionaries who fell martyrs in the struggle against imperialism, our people and the peoples of the Middle East, if the visit of James Baker had went ahead peacefully and comfortably. We said "welcome" to the imperialist murderer who had diplomatic status by destroying and punishing imperialist targets with death. And during these activities our dear comrade Kahraman Altun was martyred.

THE "MIDDLE EASTERN CRIME FILE" OF Imperialism

Imperialism has been present for centuries in the Middle East. The curent borders of the Middle East were drawn by imperialism and the governments of several countries were brought to power by the imperialists or were supported by them.

The preparations by the USA for an attack on Iraq, which are a new example of imperialist aggression, have again put the Middle East at the centre of world attention. They are discussing "who is in the right". This discussion is highly desirable. It is clear that it is not about "opening or not opening the palaces of Saddam to inspection". Everyone knows that this is an invented pretext and a flat lie to cover the aggression and tyranny of the USA. When the hundreds of years of existence of imperialism in the Middle East are considered, one can see that the interventions by imperialism in the Middle East have never once been for the benefit of the peoples living there. Every intervention, every border violation by imperialism meant blood, tears, suffering and poverty for the peoples of the Middle East.

The US attack on Iraq is directed simultaneously at all the peoples of the Middle East. The importance of the Middle East and the USA's imperialist plans for the region lie behind the US imperialist attack.

This kind of aggression has been experienced by the peoples of the Middle East throughout their history. The riches of the region's natural resources have been exciting the greed of imperialism for a long time, and made it a target of imperialist attacks for centuries.

Policies of "divide and rule" in the Middle East

The Middle East, one of the oldest sites of civilisation in the world, have been a homeland for different peoples for centuries and became a centre for many nationalities and religions. When Islam arose in this area and spread, various wars for supremacy were fought out under the veil of religion.

Wars are a factor which have particularly influenced the peoples who live in the Middle East. In the seventh century, the Islamic Arabs conquered Syria (at that time the area comprised what is now Lebanon and Palestine as well as what is now called Syria). Later Islamic tribes settled in the area in order to beat off the attacks by Byzantium.

However, the Christians who once lived in the region and who had been driven from their homeland, settled in the mountainous regions of Lebanon. The Crusades resulted in various religious groups migrating.

Then the Middle East was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. The first Ottoman Sultan Selim forced the Mamelukes (the rulers of Syria and Egypt) to surrender in 1516 in Syria, and then he imposed taxes on them as well.

Ottoman rule lasted a long time. However, they did not possess the economic and political power to keep power in their hands forever. Especially during their period of decline, their control slipped. German imperialism stepped in in their place. At the start of this century German imperialism took steps to derive advantage from the Middle East's enormous economic potential and strategic importance. So it began to move closer to the Ottomans and to conquer spheres of influence in the Middle East. However the Germans were not alone in being interested in the region.

The French and English imperialists made plans to drive the Ottoman Empire, which they called the "sick man of Europe", out of the region. They fanned the discontent the peoples living there felt with the Ottoman Empire, and presented themselves as supporters of "independence" for the peoples of the Middle East.

With the Sykes-Picot agreement in 1916, the French and English imperialists divided the Middle East among themselves and decided which areas would be in their spheres of influence.

With the defeat of German imperialism and the collapse of the Ot-

toman Empire after the first imperialist war of partition, the domination of the Middle East by French and British imperialism took firm hold.

During the second war, German fascism, in the conflict among the imperialists for markets, turned its eyes towards various regions, among them the Middle East. German imperialism, which did not want to leave the region to the French and the English, sent armoured units towards Egypt.

After the second imperialist war of partition, the imperialists mobilised in order to redraw the geopolitical and political map of the Middle East. The puppet states they erected and their collaborationist leaderships became imperialism's closest allies.

Through these puppet regimes the imperialists were seeking to safeguard their long-term interests in the region and develop the conditions to stay there permanently.

With policies of "divide and rule", they triggered off wars which over decades pushed the peoples into massacring each other. Borders were divided in such a way as to cause problems, and peoples who were actually in conflict with imperialism engaged in artificially induced conflict with each other.

The puppet regimes, beaten, weak, powerless and dependent, had completely surrendered to the imperialists.

Several small states like Jordan, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain arose as a result of imperialism's policy of destruction and division.

The imperialists also had Israel created at this point, in order to have a trustworthy and firm base in the region. The differences among the nationalities and religions of the peoples, who had lived within the same geographical borders for centuries, had shared the same fate and also had much in common, were exploited to prevent them forming a common front and developing their brotherhood and sisterhood.

This was done to prevent the Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Palestinians, Iranians and Druze, in short, all the peoples of the Middle East, from struggling against imperialism and its local collaborators.

Nevertheless, there were also important developments which frustrated the plans of the imperialists and dealt them blows.

On the one hand, a "progressive" bloc was formed with support from the Soviet Union, on the other hand the USA, which arrogated to itself the role of world policeman, began to hunger after the markets of English and French imperialism in the Middle East, since these powers had lost strength following the second imperialist war of partition, and it started to become established in the region. From this point onwards, events in the region were heavily influenced by the policies and the attacks of the USA.

The Middle East and imperialist looting

The Middle East is no ordinary market in the view of imperialism.

The reason for this special importance is its geopolitical and strategic location in the world and its possession of rich deposits of oil.

It is located at the meeting point of three continents. The most important communication and travel networks run through the area. Taken together, these advantages - its geographic importance, its wealth in natural resources, especially oil, its economic potential and different possibilities, it is a significant and indeed indispensible area for imperialism.

So the region's Eastern Mediterranean was the cradle of some of the most important civilisations in history, and the most significant religions arose in this area. The Silk Road and the connection between India and Europe triggered off wars between empires which wanted these routes under their control.

A great part of the world's oil reserves, of crucial importance for all imperialists, are found in this region. Japan obtains 75% of its oil consumption from the Middle East, while Europe obtains about half and the USA 20% of its oil from the same source. And the strategically important Suez Canal,which is an important watercourse and shortcut for travel and commerce by sea between Europe and the Far East, is located here.

At the same time the Middle East is an indispensible arms market in which the imperialist arms monopolies are influential. Those who incite and arm the peoples against each other keep themselves alive with this market.

When the prestige of socialism was high, several liberation movements and progressive Arab leaderships in the Middle East were influenced by it. They had friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This annoyed the imperialists and they nourished and protected the reactionary Arab regimes in the Middle East in the name of "preventing the expansion of the Soviet Union into warm-water regions".

In short, the Middle East, with all these characteristics, with its structures which are known to be underdeveloped and its neocolonial countries, is an important market for imperialist monopolies which struggle with each other to acquire a bigger share.

The existence of the USA in the Middle East means plunder, exploitation and attacks

While new power relationships were forming after the second war of partition, nothing changed from the point of view of the peoples of the Middle East. All that changed was that the USA's sphere of influence grew in the Middle East, as across the

world.

The USA emerged as a winner from the second war of partition and made itself the world policeman. So it erected and established its mastery over the Middle East, with the Zionist state of Israel playing an important role in this.

The Zionist state of Israel, whose founding was prepared by English imperialism and carried out in May 1948, later became an important and hard-hitting stronghold of the USA in conflicts with the peoples of the Middle East.

Israel tried everything, military occupation included, to have its existence recognised, an existence which came about through the support of imperialism. Israel was a bulwark for imperialism's application of terror to suppress the struggles of the peoples living there and to inflict further exploitation. In return, Israel was one of the countries which received the most economic and military aid from imperialism.

In the period after the second war of partition, the development of socialism into a powerful centre was a threat to the interests of imperialism. About a third of the world was outside the sphere of influence and exploitation of imperialism. And the development of national and social liberation movements in the course of imperialism's third period of crisis also threatened its position.

As a result of their fears, the imperialist countries, above all the USA, began an anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign which they called the "cold war". Allegedly to "protect the peoples from communism" they carried out inconceivable attacks and massacres. The Eisenhower Doctrine, special treaties with various countries in the Middle East and the proliferation of military bases and listening post. The Treaty of Baghdad, known as CENTO, was a consequence of this policy.

Imperialism carried out all its attacks, putsches and military occupations in the Middle East in the name of "fighting communism". It chose this path to conceal its plundering, devastation and exploitation.

The first action of Mossadeq, who came to power in Iran at the start of the 1950s, was to nationalise the oil industry which was being exploited by the imperialists. Mossadeq, who put the national interests of Iran first, was for this reason overthrown by a coup of CIA origin.

Egypt in 1956 supplied another example. Nasser, who followed a petit-bourgeois Arab nationalist line and adopted radical anti-imperialist attitudes, was also not congenial to imperialism. The nationalisation of the Suez Canal, which was under the control of English and French imperialists, was used as a pretext by imperialism to launch an attack, in which Israel was made use of.

From then on imperialism in the Middle East followed a policy of open aggression. After Egypt, Lebanon was a target. US imperialism sent its Marines to Lebanon to support the collaborating Falangists against the country's progressives. In this attack on Lebanon, the USA received particular support from the Menderes government in Turkey. At the same time the English in Cyprus deployed paratroopers in Jordan.

From the point of view of the imperialists in 1960-70, the chief danger came from radical, petit-bourgeois nationalist currents, which in Egypt were led by Nasser and in Iraq by the Ba'athists. Another danger was the armed liberation movement in Palestine which came onto the agenda in 1965 with its first armed and organised action.

Moreover, in this period the USA gave Israel the green light for attacks on the Arab peoples and anti-imperialist progressive forces. In 1967 Israel occupied more territory belonging to Syria and Egypt.

The "non-aligned" leaderships of countries like Jordan and Egypt separated them from the Arab world. They formed alliances aimed at weakening the Arab world by signing a treaty with Israel. After 1970 the USA and Israel continued its attacks in the Middle East.

In 1991 the USA attacked Iraq under the pretext that it had occupied Kuwait. Thousands of their soldiers and their enormous war machine in the Middle East together murdered thousands of Iraq.

The USA wanted to intimidate the peoples of the Middle East and the world with this attack and aimed to achieve complete victory. So this attack was not aimed solely at Iraq. It was aimed at all the peoples of the Middle East, Arabs, Iranians, Kurds and Turks.

The USA which wants to create a "New World Order" with a remodeled Middle East, is threatening progressive countries and organisations in the region.

Actually imperialism has shown the world with its attack how barbaric it can be, what destructive and deadly weapons it can deploy. It chased Iraq out of Kuwait and put a significant area under its own control. But that was all that happened. Imperialism's other aims in the Middle East were not realised.

It has managed to influence various nationalist forces to some degree or other but it could not make the people of Iraq or the Middle East submit. The 1991 attack has a place in history as one of the bloodiest pages in imperialism's file of crimes in the Middle East.

Now imperialism is adding new pages to its crime file.

Imperialism will not be able to achieve its aims. This aggression too will be added to its crime file. Because of this file, the peoples of the Middle East will one day demand a reckoning from it.

The huge military power of imperialism will not protect it from having to sit in the dock in the court of the peoples' justice.

4 People Disappeared

Neslihan Uslu, Metin Andaş, Hasan Aydoğan and Mehmet Ali Mandal... On March 31, 1998 they were kidnapped by the contra-guerrilla in Izmir/Turkey. Since that time there has been no information about them.

The contra-guerrilla in Turkey is behind their disappearance